

HETEROSEXUAL CONTEXT AND ADOLESCENT SEXUAL RISK-TAKING
BEHAVIOUR: AN EXPLORATIVE STUDY IN A COLOURED COMMUNITY

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SWORN STATEMENT

Herewith I, the undersigned, state that the work included in this thesis is my own original work that has not previously, in its entirety or in part, been submitted to any university in obtaining a degree.

Catherin-Ann Burger

ABSTRACT

A combined quantitative and qualitative methodology was employed in order to explore the intimate heterosexual context of coloured* pregnant adolescents as a determinant of their sexual risk-taking behaviour. Structured questionnaires were completed by forty young women attending prenatal clinics in the Stellenbosch area, and unstructured open-ended interviews subsequently conducted with ten selected respondents. It was found that the heterosexual relationships in which these girls were involved, tended to be intense emotional attachments based upon a foundation of friendship and trust, and reinforced by cultural notions of romantic love. In the wake of working class socio-economic circumstances these relationships became a primary source of meaning-giving in respondents' lives, pervading all aspects of their everyday existence and guiding their future prospects. And it is in this context that sex prevailed as a means of deepening the emotional experience and pursuing relationship maintenance. Reproductive health interventions for coloured female adolescents would have to acknowledge these complexities and act upon them in ingenuous ways.

* This term is solely used as an existing nominator for the population group in question, and has no ulterior connotations.

OPSOMMING

‘n Gekombineerde kwantitatiewe en kwalitatiewe metodologie is geïmplementeer ten einde te bepaal op welke wyse die intieme heteroseksuele konteks van kleurling* swanger adolessente hulle seksueel riskante gedrag beïnvloed. Gestruktureerde vraelyste is voltooi deur veertig jong vroue wat prenatale klinieke in die Stellenbosch area bygewoon het, waarop ongestruktureerde nie-leidende onderhoude met tien geselekteerde respondente gevoer is. Dit is bevind dat hierdie meisies se heteroseksuele verhoudings meestal intense emosionele verbintenisse was, wat gebaseer is op ‘n grondslag van vriendskap en vertrouwe, en wat versterk is deur kulturele opvattinge van romantiese liefde. In die lig van werkersklas sosio-ekonomiese omstandighede, het hierdie verhoudings ‘n primêre bron van betekenis in respondente se lewens geword. Dit het alle aspekte van hulle daaglikse bestaan beïnvloed en hulle toekomsvooruitsigte gerig. En dit is binne sodanige konteks wat seks beoefen is. Dit was instrumenteel ten einde verdieping van die emosionele ervaring en voortsetting van die verhouding te probeer bewerkstellig. Reproductiewe gesondheidsintervensies vir kleurling vroulike adolessente sal erkenning moet gee aan hierdie kompleksiteite en vindingryke oplossings daarvoor moet genereer.

* Hierdie term word uitsluitlik gebruik as ‘n bestaande benaming vir die bevolkingsgroep ter sprake, en het geen verskuilde konnotasies nie.

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HETEROSEXUAL CONTEXT AND ADOLESCENT SEXUAL RISK-TAKING BEHAVIOUR: AN EXPLORATIVE STUDY IN A COLOURED COMMUNITY

1. INTRODUCTION AND MOTIVATION

Teenage pregnancies, HIV-infection, overpopulation and sexually transmitted diseases are social and health problems which have been identified in the Reconstruction and Development document as priority areas for intervention in South Africa (African National Congress, 1994). As such the sexual behaviour of adolescents has been brought to the forefront of public attention. Many researchers have indeed concluded that adolescent sexual activity is often characterised by early onset, multiple partners, and a low incidence of contraception use (Boult & Cunningham, 1991; Breakwell, Millward & Fife-Schaw, 1994; Flisher, Ziervogel, Chalton, Leger & Robertson, 1993; Kloot, 1996; Nash, 1990; Richard & Van der Plight, 1991). The incidence of unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases in this population is therefore relatively high. Furthermore, although the recorded incidence of HIV-infection among adolescents is still relatively low, their sexual behaviour has direct relevance for HIV transmission, because many HIV-infected adolescents will be diagnosed only in their twenties (DiClemente, 1990).

Mounting concern regarding adolescent sexual risk-taking behaviour has culminated in a proliferation of sex education and family planning programs for this population (Bailey & Piercy, 1997; Olsen, Jensen & Greaves, 1991). Such programs, which have been implemented on a world-wide scale in accordance with World Health Organisation standards, have focussed on educating adolescents about sexual reproduction, sexually transmitted diseases, and contraceptive use, in order to reduce sexual risk-taking behaviour conducted by them. Interventions have also included making contraception more readily available to adolescents.

Numerous studies have however proceeded to reveal the ineffectiveness of these practices in significantly reducing risky sexual behaviours. In general, such studies have shown that merely informing adolescents about the dangers of certain sexual behaviours, in order to bring about avoidance thereof, is oversimplistic and unwarranted (Boldero, Moore & Rosenthal, 1992; Bowler, Sheon, D'Angelo & Vermund, 1992; Flisher et al., 1993; Keith, McCreary, Collins, Smith & Bernstein, 1991; Moore & Rosenthal, 1992; Olsen, Jensen & Greaves, 1991; Preston-Whyte & Zondi, 1992; Roscoe & Kruger, 1990; Smailes & Cunningham, 1992). It was found

that neither knowledge of AIDS/STD's/premature pregnancy, nor perceived risk for these phenomena, were related to safe sex practices. Even taking individuals' attitudes and intentions into account did not improve the prediction of safe sex behaviour a great deal (Boldero, Moore & Rosenthal, 1992). Kirby (as cited in Bailey & Piercy, 1997) concludes that sex education programs "can increase knowledge but, like most educational programs, have little measureable impact on behaviour" (p. 991). What adolescents know about sex and what they do, are two different things.

According to authors such as Fullilove, Fullilove, Haynes and Gross (1990), Gomez and Van Oss Marin (1996), Joffe (1996), Kaloff (1995), Lear (1995), Miles (1992), Moore and Rosenthal (1992), Preston-Whyte and Zondi (1991), Varga and Makubalo (1996), and Wingood and DiClemente (1992), it has become imperative to recognise that situational features of the sexual encounter, plus the apparent assumptions brought to the encounter by the individual, are very important in making the decision about safe sex and carrying it through. Sex does indeed occur within a social context replete with assumptions, values, ideals, attitudes and beliefs, and one can no longer ignore that knowledge of this context is important in understanding sexual behaviour and the mechanisms of behaviour change. Effective prevention of teenage pregnancies, HIV-infection and sexually transmitted diseases today depends on educators being able to influence young people's sexual behaviours, and this means understanding the contexts (socio-economic, cultural and interpersonal) in which they occur.

The time has thus come to conduct more open and exploratory research, which would allow adolescents to speak for themselves about their sexual worlds. Many researchers advocate a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches when studying health related behaviours, particularly those of a sexual nature (Carlson as cited in Tiefer, 1995; Flisher et al., 1993; Joffe, 1996; Moore & Rosenthal, 1992). Such attempts tend to yield complementary and alternative types of data and levels of analysis, thus ensuring a stronger, more substantial knowledge base.

Pilot studies within the Stellenbosch and adjacent rural area have indicated that teenage pregnancy is a concern within this community. The following statistics were obtained from Stellenbosch Hospital regarding the recorded number of teenage births at their institution during the period January 1994 to December 1998. Figures are presented according to the geographical distribution of patients.

Table 1.1

Teenage births at Stellenbosch Hospital (1994 – 1998)

AREA	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
I. TOWN AREA (Stellenbosch and immediate surrounds)					
STELLENBOSCH PROPER	6	3	6	5	4
CLOETESVILLE	43	44	36	41	30
IDAS VALLEY	18	13	15	10	17
KAYAMANDI	42	47	48	50	39
II. RURAL AREA (Banhoek vicinity)					
BANHOEK	6	5	2	7	2
JONKERSHOEK	5	2	1	2	2
KYLEMORE	13	5	7	12	5
PNIEL	2	2	0	0	1
III. RURAL AREA (Koelenhof-Muldersvlei)					
BOTTELARY ROAD	3	1	1	0	0
KRAAIFONTEIN	2	1	0	2	0
KOELENHOF	11	16	16	22	14
KLAPMUTS	1	2	0	0	1
MULDERSVLEI	9	6	9	9	1
IV. RURAL AREA (Around Stellenbosch - Faure)					
DEVON VALLEY	6	5	7	7	5
EERSTE RIVER	3	3	4	2	3
LYNEDOCH	13	11	6	6	6
STRAND ROAD	7	6	5	6	13
VLOTTENBURG	16	18	15	18	15
JAMESTOWN	1	2	5	2	7
FAURE	0	0	2	3	1
SUM TOTAL OF TEENAGE BIRTHS	207	192	185	205	166
TOTAL NUMBER OF BIRTHS	1312	1262	1272	1347	1325
TEENAGE BIRTHS PERCENTAGE	15.8	15.2	14.5	15.2	12.5

The above mentioned statistics indicate that teenage births have consistently constituted a substantial proportion (approximately 15 %) of the total number of recorded deliveries at Stellenbosch Hospital since 1994. It is evident that no significant progress has been made in curbing the incidence of teenage pregnancy within the community. There has indeed been continual fluctuation in the annual number of adolescent births since 1994, thus showing the inability of existing interventative efforts to successfully address the issue. Furthermore, figures seem to indicate that teenage pregnancy is especially prevalent amongst the coloured population. Excluding Kayamandi and Stellenbosch proper, all of the areas listed are “coloured” communities.

In the light of these realities, the current research study will attempt to deepen our understanding of coloured female adolescent sexual risk-taking behaviour, thus allowing us to improve upon current reproductive health interventions for this population. This will be done by quantitatively and qualitatively exploring the intimate heterosexual contexts of coloured pregnant adolescents in the Stellenbosch area as a representative population. There is indeed a paucity of existing data regarding the intricacies of the coloured female adolescent intimate heterosexual relationship which, according to Dockrell and Joffe (1992), is an all important contextual reality where sexual decision-making is concerned. Ultimately, individuals must negotiate with a partner whether or not they are going to practise safer sex. The nuances of this transaction within the dyad thus determines the action which is chosen, and these factors need to be explored and understood.

Before embarking upon such research activity, I will however provide a backdrop against which the aim of the current study can be understood. Primarily, I will explore adolescence as developmental stage in order to contextualise and enhance the meaning of subsequent literature regarding adolescents’ intimate heterosexual contexts. Being the main focus of this research, the latter will be explored quite extensively in view of dimensions deemed to be relevant components thereof by prior researchers. The theoretical and methodological framework of the current research process will finally be indicated.

2. ADOLESCENCE

The concept adolescence is derived from the Latin verb *adolescere*, which literally means “to grow up” or “to grow to maturity”. Psychologists use the term more freely in reference to the transition period between childhood and adulthood. Adolescence is the stage in which the individual is required to adapt and adjust childhood behaviours to the adult forms that are considered acceptable in his or her culture (Dusek, 1987). Hence, adolescence refers not only to biological growth, as implied by the original Latin verb, but also to social growth within a cultural framework.

I will now proceed to explore adolescence as developmental stage, in order to improve upon our understanding of adolescent heterosexual context. Various developmental components of adolescence will be discussed and deliberated upon in terms of their impact on the intimate heterosexual relationships of adolescents.

2.1 Physical development

Jubber (1991) states that extreme physical changes take place during the early to mid-adolescent years. These changes occur as a result of the complex influences of hormones. The hormones, of which testosterone, estrogen and progesterone are most significant, are secreted by the endocrine glands, which are ductless and send their secretions directly into the blood stream. Their levels increase considerably during adolescence and cause the growth spurt to final adult physique and sexual maturity (Conger, 1991; Dusek, 1987; Francoeur, 1991; Tanner as cited in Peterson, 1996).

Only at one time in life, growth is more rapid than during adolescence, and that is during the fetal period and the first two years (Campbell, 1989). Adolescent growth indeed involves a comprehensive process of becoming taller and heavier, growing enlarged genitals, and developing secondary sexual features. This acceleration which peaks at round about the age of 12 to 13 for girls, and 14 to 15 for boys, is psychologically much more significant than earlier growth, since the adolescent, unlike the fetus or infant, scrutinises bodily changes carefully, intensively and self-consciously (Dusek, 1987; Gouws & Kruger, 1994; Jubber, 1991).

The enormous physical changes setting in during adolescence have direct implications for heterosexual involvement. Hormonal and bodily processes make the adolescent acutely aware of gender identity issues, pressuring her to act in gender-stereotyped ways. An intensification of sex roles emerges (Ackermann, 1983; Campbell, 1989), that guides interactions with the opposite sex. Physical changes in the adolescent cause these interactions to become more attraction-based. With genital sensitivity and responsiveness increasing, the adolescent is endogenically prompted towards intimacy with potential heterosexual partners, often resulting in sexual behaviour.

2.2 Cognitive development

In adolescence young people not only begin to look more like adults, they also begin to think more like adults. As a result, the way they see themselves, other people and life in general changes.

In Piaget's developmental theory, the hallmark of adolescent cognitive change is the development of *formal operational thought* (Craig, 1992; Dusek, 1987; Gordon, 1996; Holmbeck, Crossman, Wandrei & Gasiewski, 1994; Louw, Van Ede & Louw, 1998; Rodriguez & Moore, 1995; Steinberg & Levine, 1992; Trad, 1994). Piaget defines the concept of formal operational thought by distinguishing it from concrete thinking typical of an eight- or ten-year-old. He states that the child concentrates on the immediately present object world during the concrete stage of reasoning, whilst the adolescent shows a growing inclination to treat everything as a mere variation on what could be. Formal operational thought is abstract, speculative, and free from the immediate environment and circumstances. It involves thinking about possibilities as well as comparing reality with things that might or might not be.

For the adolescent, intellectual development opens new doors, also with regards to the quality of heterosexual relationships. Her expanding cognitive powers indeed enable her to think about what is going on inside people and to take another person's point of view. This in itself allows for depths of intimacy and friendship foreign to the younger child.

Being able to think like an adult does not catapult an adolescent into social and emotional maturity however. The young adolescent may have the mental equipment to "think great thoughts", but she does not have much experience applying advanced logic to the mundane,

practical realities of everyday life. This is reflected in literature on adolescent egocentrism and its most significant manifestations, the *imaginary audience* and the *personal fable*. As suggested by Elkind (1967), early in the development of formal operations, young adolescents become increasingly able to reflect upon their own thinking as well as the thinking of others. Before these abilities have matured, however, the adolescent fails to differentiate between the objects toward which the thoughts of others are directed and those which are the focus of her own concern. This lack of differentiation leads to the assumption for many adolescents that others are as concerned with their own thoughts, feelings and behaviour as they are themselves. The heightened self-consciousness that develops, results in a sense of continually being evaluated by others, being on stage, or playing to an imaginary audience. Similarly, adolescents' failure to differentiate their feelings and experiences from reality may lead to the conviction, or personal fable, that they are unusually unique and not subject to the laws that govern other peoples' lives. Adolescents tend to believe that they are invulnerable, invincible and immortal (Moore & Rosenthal, 1991).

These manifestations of egocentrism inevitably have implications for adolescents' heterosexual involvements. It seems as if they tend to incite intense relationships in which partners form highly idealised images of their importance to one another ("no one ever loved so much as we do"). Couples believe their relationships to be truly unique and special, and as such indestructible (Campbell, 1989; Miller et al., 1997). Risk-taking behaviour, particularly of a sexual nature, is thus promoted, in the belief that the exceptional nature of their relationships will magically protect them from the bad things that happen to other couples, such as having to deal with an unplanned pregnancy. In the light of these statements, one would expect adolescent heterosexual involvements to be relatively short-lived. When the first excitement wears off, and the partners take a more realistic view, a break-up would indeed be the most likely course of action (Campbell, 1989; Jaffe, 1998; Shaughnessy & Shakesby, 1992; Steinberg & Levine, 1992).

Moral development is closely linked to cognitive development. With the advent of formal operational thinking, the adolescent thus also becomes a moral philosopher, capable of reasoning about moral issues at an abstract level. Moral judgements become based on higher principles than personal issues (Dacey, 1979; Gouws & Kruger, 1994). According to the research of Kohlberg (1973), most adolescents are at a conventional stage of moral development. They conform to social conventions, are motivated to support the status quo, and think in terms of doing the right thing to please others or to obey the law.

The implications of this stage of moral reasoning for intimate heterosexual involvements is that the adolescent's moral decisions (e.g. regarding sexual behaviour) will most likely be based upon prescriptions by the social environment. The adolescent has not yet achieved true moral independence, arriving at universal principles to which she can personally subscribe. She is highly receptive to the culture that surrounds her and to the behaviour of models she sees at home, in school and in the mass media. This brings us to the next developmental component of adolescence, namely social development.

2.3 Social development

Adolescence is indeed an intensely social period on the developmental continuum. Adolescents' primary motivation is not necessarily to know others, but to know themselves through feedback from others (Craig, 1992; Dusek, 1987; Rodriguez & Moore, 1995). In her quest for independence and the formation of a discreet identity, the adolescent looks to others as a guide to the way to act, whether they are peers or family members.

2.3.1 Peer influence

Many authors have distinguished peers as the primary socialisation agents in adolescents' lives (Biddle, Bank & Marlin, 1980; Craig, 1992; Hartup, 1983; Larson, 1983; Papalia & Olds, 1995; Sebald, 1986; Shah & Zelnik, 1981; Steyn, 1987). Separating themselves from their parents is part of the task of adolescence, and the peer group indeed provides a comfortable environment in which young people can try their wings, whilst still fulfilling a desire for security. Important functions have been identified that are most directly associated with peer group involvements:

To some extent, the peer group takes the place of the family. Within her peer group, the adolescent can feel a certain status, or lack of it, independent of who or what her family is. This in itself is an invaluable preparation for adulthood because it gives one a chance for more objective feedback than parents can usually provide (Brown, Eicher & Pertie, 1986; Hartup, 1983; Steyn, 1987). Furthermore, peer group membership is a useful stabiliser during a period of transition. In light of comprehensive changes occurring during the brief period of adolescence, it is comforting to know that others are going through the same thing (Pombeni, Kircher & Palmonari, 1990; Shulman, 1993; Sloane, 1986). The peer group can also be an important source of self-esteem in the sense of being important to someone outside the primary family unit (Brown et al., 1986; Wright, 1984). The peer group insulates and protects adolescents to some extent from the coercions that adults are likely to impose on them. It allows them to raise a

universal wail of defensive protest, while holding membership within the security of one's peer group. There is both safety and strength in numbers, and membership in the peer culture provides a little of each (Brown et al., 1986; Pombeni et al., 1990; Sloane, 1986). Most importantly, the peer group provides an opportunity to practise by doing. It offers all important rehearsal experiences for eventual adulthood (e.g. participation in extracurricular activities, dating and bull sessions about life, sex, future goals and the world in general) with a constant source of instant feedback firmly in place. Feedback from peers is important because it is objective, and it provides cues and information that can be used to modify and refine the adolescent's emerging concept of who she is as a person (Craig, 1992; Hamachek, 1985; Hartup, 1983; Papalia & Olds, 1995; Sloane, 1986; Steyn, 1987). Finally, the peer group offers a psychosocial model that many parents simply cannot provide. Many adolescents, especially those from lower socio-economic backgrounds, are subject to very little parental modelling to guide their development (e.g. moral and conscience development). These youths are even more psychologically dependent on their peers and extensively use them as models (Hamachek, 1985).

In light of the peer group's indispensable contribution to the adolescent's often turbulent world, the importance of acceptance in the peer group and consequent adherence to the prescriptions of the peer group tend to become a necessity for most young people. Adolescents want to belong to a group, and as such most of them look to what their peers are doing as a guide as far as the way they act. Nobody wants to be an outcast, so what the crowd says is more important than what you think (Billy & Udry, 1985; Meier, 1994; Newcomer & Udry, 1983). Pressure to conform is a reality in most adolescents' lives, affecting every aspect of their existence and development.

With regards to her evolving heterosexual functioning, the peer group is indeed an all important factor of influence for the adolescent. Most teenagers do indeed think about the opposite sex. Because of the physical changes they are going through, they begin to experience sexual feelings toward each other, and wonder what it would be like to have an intimate relationship. This is a natural part of growing up and as such likely to become a major topic of conversation with their peers. Most adolescents are encouraged by their peer group to become involved in heterosexual relationships. Such involvement seems to ensure a more pseudo-sophisticated status among them, as it would prove the relevant individuals to be adults (Meier, 1994; Newcomer & Udry, 1983; Rodriguez & Moore, 1995). Furthermore, adolescents receive most of their schooling on how to conduct heterosexual involvements from their peers. The information provided by these individuals, as well as the examples set and promoted by them, predominantly direct adolescents'

intimate interactions with the opposite sex (Billy & Udry, 1985; Whitbeck, Conger & Kao, 1993).

2.3.2 Family influence

Adolescents are very much influenced by their families, even though the old ties may be strained in some instances. Parents continue to influence not only adolescent beliefs, but also adolescent behaviour (Craig, 1992; Hunter & Youniss, 1982).

According to Craig (1992), Dusek (1987), and Hamachek (1985), evidence suggests that although adolescents as a group move initially in the direction of the more liberal peer group, they are much more inclined to lean in the direction of the primary values of the family unit when it comes to occupational choice, moral ethical development, and political behaviour. Hamachek (1985) states:

All in all, it appears that when an adolescent boy or girl has to decide what to wear or what kind of haircut to get or what to do on the weekend – decisions that have to do with social or identity needs – what his or her friends are doing will make the greatest difference. However, when adolescence is wrapped up in the album of high school memories, the young adults who emerge begin to reflect values and outlooks that look suspiciously like the parental values they once questioned (p.108).

The heterosexual context of the adolescent is thus also likely to be governed by input from her parents. Her ideological view of intimate relationships with the opposite sex will most probably be family-based, and provide the framework in which feedback by the peer group is interpreted and executed.

Empirical research does however suggest that family input is dependent upon the quality of family functioning. Literature reveals that the more alienated the adolescent is from her family, the more important the values of the peer culture are likely to become (Gordon, 1996; Hamachek, 1985). And with regards to heterosexual context the peer group seems to favour more liberal, intense involvements focussed on the here-and-now rather than the future (Billy & Udry, 1985; Newcomer & Udry, 1983; Steinberg & Levine, 1992).

According to Chilman (1980) irresponsible sexual behaviour amongst adolescents is often associated with inconsistent, noncohesive and maladaptive family behaviour. Barnett, Papini and Gbur (1991) state that families that do not foster emotional connectedness may generate feelings of social and emotional isolation, feelings which may be compensated for through the

adolescent's establishment of intimate contact with members of the opposite sex. Furthermore, families that do not tolerate individual expressions of uniqueness, may be unable to deal with the adolescent's emerging identity issues, and may unwittingly push their children toward irresponsible heterosexual interaction. This often involves unsafe sexual activity. Miller, McCoy, Olson and Wallace (1986) found extremes in parental control and discipline to be a dimension of family functioning impacting heavily upon adolescent sexual risk-taking behaviour. These authors state that lenient parents who impose few rules and minimum restrictions may produce adolescents who are permissive and at risk for sexual promiscuity. Similarly, parents who exercise coercive control, may achieve desired results for the short term, but produce rebellious adolescents in the long run. Finally, the quality of family communication has proven to be another area of family functioning associated with premature sexual activity amongst adolescents (Pick & Palos, 1995; Postrado & Nicholson, 1992; Whalen, Henker, Hollingshead & Burgess, 1996). Adolescents who communicate poorly with their parents tend to have no set opinion regarding issues of romantic involvement, and are thus easily influenced by their peers and heterosexual partners whom they consider to be more knowledgeable in this respect.

2.4 Identity development

According to Erikson (1968) it is the chief task of the adolescent stage of life to resolve the conflict of *identity versus identity confusion* – to become a unique adult with an important role in life. Identity becomes a central concern during this developmental age for a variety of overlapping reasons (Ackermann, 1993; Dusek, 1987; Offer, Ostrov & Howard, 1981; Papalia & Olds, 1995; Steinberg & Levine, 1992). Primarily puberty makes adolescents acutely aware of change. Looking in the mirror, the adolescent knows she is no longer the child she used to be – but not what sort of adult she will become. Furthermore, sexual awakening invites a new type of intimate relationship with members of the opposite sex, unlike any the adolescent has known before. Adolescents also have the intellectual capacity to reflect on themselves and their future. They can imagine being someone other than who they are now and living a life that is quite different from that of their parents or the one their parents imagine for them. They are aware that their parents and peers see them in different lights; that they behave differently in different situations; and that how they appear to others does not always reflect how they feel inside.

As Steinberg and Levine (1992) indeed points out, it is the challenge for adolescents to assemble these different pieces of the self into a working whole that serves both the self and society. They must connect the skills and talents they developed in childhood to realistic adult goals; reconcile

their private images of themselves with what other people see in them and expect from them. They need to feel unique and special on the one hand, and to belong or fit in on the other.

According to Erikson (1968), a period of exploration, of trying on different roles and identities, is a necessary part of this process. Adolescents need a *moratorium* – a time out– when they are relatively free from the kinds of adult responsibilities and obligations that restrict experimentation and can investigate possible futures without making irrevocable decisions. It would seem as if the intimate heterosexual relationship provides the adolescent with such an arena. To a considerable extent, adolescent love is an attempt to arrive at a definition of one's identity by projecting one's diffuse self-image on another and by seeing it thus reflected and gradually clarified. It provides the adolescent with an opportunity for self-exploration within a warm, trusting and loving environment.

2.5 Emotional development

Adolescence is a time for shedding the comfortable dependency of childhood and preparing for the independence of adulthood. Emotionally, adolescents tend to be less stable because a great deal is happening in this metamorphosis between childhood and adulthood. Hormonally they are edgy, whilst the growing demands placed on them by family, peers and society in general, leaves them feeling vulnerable and exposed (Hamachek, 1985; Heaven, 1994; Roscoe & Kruger, 1990; Steinberg & Levine, 1992).

Steinberg and Levine (1992) list the following expressions of heightened vulnerability as prevalent amongst adolescents: *Moodiness*. Adolescents may be ecstatic one moment, despondent the next. The intensity of their emotions seems totally out of proportion to the events that inspire them. *Sulking*. Adolescents do not have much experience talking about feelings. They may feel down but not know why, not be able to verbalise their feelings, or not want to do so; or they may attribute all of the discomfort they are experiencing to a particular comment or event and not be able to think about anything else. *Privacy*. Being on stage all the time is tiring, even if the audience is imaginary. Closing the door to their room allows teens to relax. Alone, they can indulge in heroic fantasies, without being observed; or they can surround themselves with the old, familiar possessions of childhood without letting others know they are not as grown-up as they pretend to be. *Short tempers*. With little or no provocation, adolescents may blow up at their parents and siblings. Frustration and anxiousness are thus displaced onto others as a defense mechanism.

The emotional turmoil accompanying adolescence inevitably pervades the intimate heterosexual relationships of teenagers. One consequently expects these involvements to be intense emotional attachments continually fluctuating between extreme highs and lows (Campbell, 1989; Jaffe, 1998). Nothing, for example, would be more exhilarating than sharing a romantic moment with their partners, and nothing more despairing than having a fight with them. Impulsiveness is likely to prevail within the intimate heterosexual involvements of the adolescent as in other areas of her life, thus making her susceptible to risk-taking behaviour, particularly of a sexual nature. According to White and De Blassie (1992) sexual activity temporarily eases uncomfortable or confusing emotions; thus, when adolescents feel emotional discomfort, they easily build a hunger for the immediate gratification of the sexual quick fix. Adolescent sex is characteristically spontaneous, based on passion of the moment, and, as such, frequently uninhibited by contraceptives (Roscoe & Kruger, 1990).

In conclusion, literature on adolescence reveals it to be a developmental stage fraught with inconsistencies. On the one hand, it has the potential to be a wondrous period of growth, self-exploration and self-discovery, whilst on the other hand it inevitably involves pain, embarrassment, self-doubt and loss. The major conflict is between the urges and abilities prompted by biological and cognitive maturity, and the slower, stuttering advances of psychological and social growth. Intimate heterosexual involvement naturally emerges from this conflict as a source of catalysis. Not only does it give the adolescent a chance to unload growing sexual energy, but it also provides an opportunity for much needed intimacy and social approval in an emotionally turbulent stage of life. Although intense and purposeful, such relationships are however subjected to the ecocentricities and impulsivities of adolescence, thus making them prone to risk-taking behaviour and eventual break-up.

At this point, I would like to indicate that the existing knowledge and theory regarding adolescence, presented in this text, is predominantly based upon white, Western culture. As such, its relevance for the coloured adolescent population, as target group for the current study, stands to be questioned. In the absence of any other available literature, I am however assuming the information reported to be applicable, and will continue to integrate it throughout the remainder of this research. In the next chapter, I will proceed to provide a more detailed exploration of available literature on adolescent heterosexual context. This will provide a point of reference and integration for current research findings regarding the coloured female adolescent's intimate relationships with the opposite sex.

3. ADOLESCENT HETEROSEXUAL CONTEXT

I will now embark upon a summation of available literature on adolescent heterosexual context. Before attempting such a summary, it would, however, be useful to define this concept as used in the current research effort. Within the parameters of this study heterosexual context refers to relationships in which partners of the opposite sex are intimately involved with each other. It transcends the boundaries of mere platonic interaction, and enters the arena of mutual attraction and dating. Heterosexual discourse has recently come under fire from especially feminist authors, claiming it to be a narrow, limiting construction of sexuality, imposed upon us by mainstream society (Fredman & Potgieter, 1996; Jeffreys, 1990; Pharr, 1988; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1980; Weeks, 1985). These authors argue that heterosexuality is merely one form of sexual expression on a continuum of sexual expressions, and that sexuality research must take these variations into account if it hopes to make a significant contribution to the field of human sexuality. Challenges to the narrow construction of sexuality are acknowledged within the current study. Heterosexual context is not used as focal point because it is believed to be the single most important form of sexual expression, but because pregnant adolescents practise sexual risk-taking behaviour within this context.

Revision of available literature on adolescent heterosexual context, revealed it to be characterised by a high incidence of sexual activity, discreet gender dynamics, and what is commonly referred to as “pseudo-intimacy” between partners. I will now proceed in discussing each of these dimensions, upon which the influence of cultural factors will finally be considered.

3.1 Sexual activity

According to Papalia and Olds (1995) the early 1920's through the late 1970's witnessed a sexual evolution (rather than a revolution), both in what people do sexually and in how they feel about their sexual behaviour. There has been a steady trend toward acceptance of more sexual activity in more situations. One major change has been the approval of premarital sex in a loving relationship.

Literature reveals adolescent intimate heterosexual relationships to indeed be characterised by a high incidence of sexual activity (Buga, Amoko & Ncayiyana, 1996; Christopher & Cate, 1988; De Gaston, Jensen & Weed, 1995; Flisher et al., 1993; Heaven, 1994; McKinney & Sprecher,

1991; Miller, Christopher & King, 1993; Olivier, 1996; Thornton, 1990; Weinstein & Rosen, 1991). In a study conducted by Olivier (1996) amongst adolescents from a variety of population groups in the Eastern Cape, it was found that 24.3% of the participants were sexually active. The study proceeded to reveal that these adolescents became more sexually involved as their relationships became more serious. It was found that 9.7% of the sexually active participants had sexual intercourse during their first date; 15.4% became sexually active after several dates; 18.6% were involved in steady relationships and 33.2% in serious relationships where some kind of commitment was made.

3.2 Gender dynamics

There is general agreement in the literature that adolescent males and females approach the dyadic involvement differently (Basow, 1992; Carpenter, 1998; Carroll, Volk & Hyde, 1985; Durham, 1998; McKinney & Sprecher, 1991; Werner-Wilson, 1998). Pre-adolescent gender socialisation and the gender socialisation that takes place in adolescence generally cause adolescent boys to assimilate the *performance principle* in their heterosexual conduct, while girls assimilate the *responsibility principle* (Coward, 1984). According to De Gaston, Weed and Jensen (1996), Gilligan (1982), Jubber (1991), and Miller (1986), heterosexual socialisation tend to propel adolescent males towards individuality and impersonality. Young men learn that they must strive to be alone at the top, from where they can be the initiator and conductor of heterosexual activity. They are also encouraged to adhere to their natural sexual desires, which is commonly believed to be much more fettered and uncontrollable than those of their female counterparts. As such, adolescent males come to view their heterosexual involvements in predominantly sexual terms, placing themselves at the helm of the facilitation process. Boys believe that they are expected to take the initiative regarding sexual behaviour and often use adolescence as a time for learning the technicalities of sex (Jubber, 1991; Knoth, Boyd & Singer, 1986).

According to authors such as Eaton, Mitchell and Jolley (1991), Gilligan (1982), Miller (1986), Schmitt and Buss (1996), and Thompson (1995), adolescent girls however tend to approach their heterosexual involvements in a different manner. Whereas boys usually are more concerned about their pride and performance, girls mostly seek a feeling of connectedness in relationship. They tend to be less permissive regarding casual sex, expecting more from their involvements emotionally. McRobbie (1982), in her study of the impact of a British girls' teen magazine,

argued that the dominant agents socialising young girls propel them towards passive romantic individualism. Adolescent girls learn that they are viewed as sex objects by males and that their future prospects depend on how they project and conduct themselves as sex objects. The overall tenor in which this message is conveyed, however tends to be alarmist, prohibitory or cautionary (Carpenter, 1998; Lees, 1986; Thompson, 1984; Tolman, 1994). Girls are continually warned about being sexually forward or promiscuous. While adolescent male sexual socialisation is typically clearly and untrammelledly just that, that of adolescent females seems to be part of a constraining complex which include notions of chastity, morality, marriage, motherhood and dependency. Girls are continually made aware of the linkage between sexuality and reproduction in their own body, encouraging them to approach heterosexual relationships with caution and a sense of answerability. Girls thus learn to pretty themselves, wait for the right boy and take responsibility for the success or failure of any love relationship (Jubber, 1991).

In summation it would seem as if a societal double standard is instilled not only upon the two sexes but also upon females themselves. Adolescent girls are guided by a strong desire for closeness in their romantic relations, but often find themselves bogged down in moral dilemmas in the pursuit thereof. They worry about how they can maintain their sense of self, and their virginity, without loosing their boyfriends and their self-respect (Eaton, Mitchell & Jolley, 1991).

3.3 Pseudo-intimacy

In light of intensified gender role enactment during the identity-seeking years of adolescence, literature reveals that very few adolescents eventually seem to have what adults would consider a mature, compatible relationship (Jaffe, 1998; Pestrak & Martin, 1985; Shaughnessy & Shakesby, 1992; Steinberg & Levine, 1992). Adolescents, who have not yet become their own person, are still exploring a variety of ways to be an adult, thus leaving them ill prepared to satisfy the needs and expectations of someone else. Most teenage romances therefore rather tend to be characterised by “pseudo-intimacy” (Erikson, 1968). The couple tell one another (and themselves) that they trust each other, yet often feel jealous and possessive or restless and tied down. They may say that they are being open with each other, yet fear that the other person will see through their act. They may vow to love each other forever, yet have trouble making future plans that include the other. In effect, they are playing at being lovers, without having the commitment and understanding to be lovers in the adult sense. Many teenagers recognise that what they are feeling is not true love; few expect to marry the person they are going out with

from school. But this does not mean that their feelings of attraction, excitement, and wanting to be together are not real.

In addition to being rooted in an egocentric search for self, “pseudo-intimacy” proves to be reinforced by the social and emotional trappings inherent to adolescence. Most adolescents indeed tend to have poorly developed intimacy skills, negatively influencing the depth of relationship intimacy that they are capable of (Jaffe, 1998; Shaughnessy & Shakesby, 1992; Youniss & Haynie, 1992). Firstly, many of them lack the verbal skills to even label, let alone describe their feelings for their partners. According to Shaughnessy and Shakesby (1992) this primarily seems to be a manifestation of having few role models in adult relationships who display intimate self-disclosure. Many children today indeed grow up in single-parent families where they have even fewer opportunities to observe adults trusting and respecting each other. Media depictions of stereotypical adult relationships muddy the relationship waters even more. Relationships as portrayed on television are generally superficial, and self-disclosure is minimal.

Secondly, for many adolescents, their hopes, dreams and aspirations are still nebulous. Thus, even if they are in touch with and can label their feelings, many have difficulty articulating them. And those who can do so are often highly defensive – very often because they have been burned in the past by self-disclosure to unsympathetic peers. Shaughnessy and Shakesby (1992) indicate that pressure to be accepted by peers often lead to superficiality in adolescent heterosexual relationships. Adolescents often feel that they cannot truly be authentic and disclosing, as this would result in ridicule. According to authors such as Billy and Udry (1985), Gullotta, Adams and Montemayor (1993), Jaffe (1998), Steinberg and Levine (1992), and Whitbeck, Conger and Kao (1993), peers indeed have a very large contribution to make in the game of mock fidelity that adolescents play. They not only pressure each other to conduct “picture-perfect” relationships, but encourage the forging of heterosexual involvements based upon purely image-related factors. Going steady means status and, at least temporarily, security. To peers a teenager who have a steady boy- or girlfriend is one of the “haves” as opposed to the “have-nots”. Being part of a couple validates the teenager’s attractiveness to the opposite sex. It confers an aura of maturity. Teenagers who have a steady do not have to worry about whether they will have something to do on a Saturday night or whether they will have a partner for the school dance. Consequently, the fact of being involved in a heterosexual relationship sometimes becomes just as important as the relationship itself.

Finally, many adolescents have a great deal of difficulty with emotional intimacy, as it does not always involve a conscious decision to become involved. In accordance with the impulsivity and heightened emotionality inherent to adolescence, emotional intimacy may evolve just as one person self-discloses to another, thereby initiating a reciprocal relationship. As a result important issues such as commitment to the relationship, discussion of ground rules of the relationship, confidentiality of one's disclosures, expectations regarding the relationship, concerns about being emotionally hurt, and limits of one's responsibilities toward the other, are often left unaddressed, heightening the adolescent's experience of insecurity, vulnerability and exposedness (Shaughnessy & Shakesby, 1992).

3.4 Culture

Finally, literature reveals the importance of considering cultural influence upon the adolescent heterosexual context. Culture evolves from the life history and experiences of a group and constitutes the group's attempt (over the years) to adapt to its environment (Chilman, 1980). Culture thus plays an important part in the way a child is reared, from birth through adolescence and youth. The values, norms, beliefs, and expectancies of a group are intricately woven into all aspects of the developing person, including her heterosexual functioning. Caplan (1987) states that sexuality can indeed not be treated as a thing in itself, as it often tends to be in the west; it can only be properly understood with reference to the economic, political, and other factors to which it is linked, as well as to its historical context.

With regards to the current research study and the manner in which cultural factors influence the heterosexual context of coloured female adolescents, a paucity of literature exists. Previous research do, however, reveal that coloured female heterosexual relationships are characterised by a high incidence of sexual activity, often risky in nature (De Kock, 1980; Hall as cited in Preston-Whyte & Allen, 1992; Preston-Whyte & Allen, 1992). The South African coloured community on which the current study is based, was always considered part of the "European" nation, sharing with whites all the characteristics of a homogenous nation, viz. the language, religion, geography and culture. Previous governments however seemed unable to bridge the racial divide. They foisted on "coloured" people a label that signified inferiority, which stigmatised them, and which was subsequently despised (Du Pre, 1997). Due to the devastating effect of apartheid, deprivation and lower-class status were thus institutionalised for most coloured people. According to Preston-Whyte and Zondi (1991), and Wilson and Ramphele

(1989), it is social and environmental circumstances such as these that pose a dangerous breeding ground for sexual risk-taking behaviour.

Preston-Whyte and Zondi (1991) talk about the existence of a culture of sexual involvement within deprived communities. Feeling little hope for the future, and viewing society as essentially hostile and dangerous and themselves as powerless, members of these communities tend to react to the situation of the moment and take risks, also sexually, because they find life basically uncontrollable anyway (also see Brindis, 1992; Chilman, 1980; De Kock, 1980; De Villiers & Clift, 1979; Preston-Whyte & Allen, 1992). Many children thus grow up in homes where non-marital sexual relationships are a reality, or they observe these patterns among neighbours. Add to this the examples offered by the mass media and TV soap operas, which suggest that extra-marital sexuality is the expectation, perhaps even the ideal, in elite society, and it is easy to understand why these teenagers do not take injunctions against sex seriously. Instead they are driven to become part of an ever-perpetuating cycle of high risk sexual conduct.

Conclusively, there thus proves to be widespread agreement in the literature regarding the unmistakeable influence of culture upon heterosexual functioning. No literature could, however, be found that explored this aspect in the coloured community of South Africa. Even though continual references have been made to the sexual activeness of this population group, no research could be traced in which the dynamics of the coloured heterosexual relationship are explored and qualified. The importance of conducting research of this nature was thus highlighted.

In summation, available literature revealed adolescent heterosexual relationships to be characterised by a high incidence of sexual activity. This was found to be driven by developmental pressures and a greater acceptance of premarital sex by society in general. Deeper probing into the dynamics of adolescent heterosexual involvements however yielded valuable information regarding other relational dimensions affecting sexual initiation. It became evident that the operation of a sexual double standard between the sexes, and within the female sex in particular, often creates a situation ripe for coercion. Based upon an inherent perception of sexuality as a boys' need which they have to accept and accommodate if they wish to achieve a sense of connection in relationship, girls often feel compelled to have intercourse with their partners. This dilemma is further added to by adolescent boys' and girls' general lack of experience in communicating their needs and desires to their heterosexual partners, and their

subsequent inability to reach a mature level of emotional intimacy with one another. The importance of considering the influence of intimate heterosexual context upon the sexual behaviour of especially female adolescents was thus confirmed. Literature continued to reveal the pervasive effect of culture upon this process and the deficiency in available research on coloured female adolescent heterosexual context, which was appropriately selected as explorative focus for the current study.

4. PROVIDING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE CURRENT RESEARCH STUDY

With a review of the relevant literature in place, I will now proceed in pursuing the objectives of the current research, that is exploring the intimate heterosexual context of coloured female adolescents in order to improve upon our understanding of sexual risk-taking behaviour within this population group. In order to bridge the gap between theory and practical research methodology, I will primarily debate on an appropriate theoretical framework for the study. The premises of this framework will be explored and the implications thereof for the current research effort carefully deliberated upon.

4.1 Theoretical frameworks commonly used in female adolescent sexuality research

Several theoretical frameworks have consistently been employed in research on female adolescent sexual behaviour. I will now proceed to provide a synopsis of the most prominent of these models, upon which their suitability to the goals of the current study will be evaluated.

4.1.1 Theory of reasoned action

According to the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Chan & Fishbein, 1993; Fisher, Fisher & Rye, 1995; Jemmott & Jemmott, 1991) an individual's beliefs inform the individual's attitudes which, in turn, inform the individual's intention to perform a specific behaviour. This intention is predictive of the behaviour practised. The individual's beliefs and attitudes concerning important other people's beliefs and attitudes, termed normative beliefs and attitudes, form part of the subjective attitude and belief states. The theory of reasoned action is based on the assumption that people will use the information which they have in a reasoned fashion in order to make decisions about behaviour which is believed to be under their conscious control (Joffe, 1996).

This model proves to be inappropriate to the objectives of the current research effort. It is explicitly limited to behaviours over which people have a high degree of volitional control, immediately questioning its applicability to sexual practices which, according to Maticka-Tyndale (1992) and Williams et al. (1992) tends to operate by a logic of its own. The overly cognitive and rational stance of the theory of reasoned action is in direct opposition to

considerations of affect and the dynamics of heterosexual relationships, which is considered to be all important determinants of sexual risk-taking behaviour in the current study.

4.1.2 Theory of planned behaviour

The theory of planned behaviour (Boldero, Moore & Rosenthal, 1992; Doll & Ajzen, 1992; Madden, Ellen & Ajzen, 1992; Reinecke, Schmidt & Ajzen, 1996) is an extension of the theory of reasoned action, made necessary by the original model's limitations in dealing with behaviours over which people have incomplete volitional control. According to this theory, behavioural performance can be predicted from people's intentions to perform the behaviour in question and from their perceptions of control over the behaviour. The relative importance of intention and perceived behavioural control in the prediction of behaviour is expected to vary across situations and across different behaviours. When the behaviour, or situation, affords a person complete control over behavioural performance, intention alone should be sufficient to predict behaviour, as specified in the theory of reasoned action. The addition of perceived behavioural control should become increasingly important as volitional control over the behaviour declines.

Even though the theory of planned behaviour acknowledges that some behaviours cannot be controlled, it does nothing further to explore the dynamics of and contextual influences upon such behaviours. Rather, it reverts its attention back to an individual decisionmaker and her perceptions of behavioural control. Like its predecessor, the theory of reasoned action, the theory of planned behaviour is steeped in a predictive assumption, viewing the individual at the centre of cognition and action. It is reductionistic and as such unsuitable for the current research procedure, which is inherently inclusive and focussed upon contextual realities impacting on sexual behaviours.

4.1.3 Social cognitive theory

Consistent with the construct of perceived behavioural control, incorporated in the theory of planned behaviour, is Bandura's work on self-efficacy expectations. In his social cognitive theory, Bandura stresses that, to engage in a certain mode of conduct, one must not only have information about it and skills to manage the self and others in relation to it, but one must, most importantly, possess a self-belief in one's ability to use them – a sense of self-efficacy – to practice the behaviours of which one is capable (Fisher & Fisher, 1992; Reinecke, Schmidt &

Ajzen, 1996). According to Bandura (1982) the self-efficacy mechanism is a centrality in human agency. Self-percepts of efficacy influence thought patterns, actions and emotional arousal. The importance of social influence factors is however also acknowledged in Bandura's theory.

Social cognitive theory also does not provide the researcher with an adequate framework for pursuing the objectives of the current study. Even though it makes provision for consideration of social influence factors upon sexual behaviour, such deliberation is only given secondary, after-thought importance to, with predominance once again placed on the notion of an individual decisionmaker who largely determines the course of her actions alone.

4.1.4 Health belief model

A different set of factors than those related in the above mentioned theories, is held responsible for performance of health-related behaviour in the Health belief model. This model posits that an individual's decision to practise a certain health-related behaviour – such as using a condom to prevent HIV transmission – results from: minimum levels of relevant knowledge about the behaviour and of motivation to practise the behaviour; seeing the self as vulnerable to the condition; seeing the condition as threatening; being convinced of the efficacy of the intervention; and seeing few difficulties in undertaking the recommended action. The individual is then cued to action either externally, e.g. by the mass media, or internally, e.g. experiencing symptoms of the illness (Becker & Joseph, 1988; Joffe, 1996; Reinecke, Schmidt & Ajzen, 1996; Sheeran, Abraham, Abrams, Spears & Marks, 1990).

In spite of recognising that sexual decision-making is more complex than mere intentions and motivations, the Health belief model, like the earlier mentioned models, relates to reasoned decision-making, in light of certain beliefs, based on information which the individual has. It is thus irreconcilable with the premises of the current study, which strives to acknowledge the important influence of social context factors upon sexual behaviour.

4.1.5 AIDS risk reduction model

The AIDS risk reduction model builds on the principles of the Health belief model (which provides only a checklist of relevant indices), and conceptualises the actual processes involved in behavioural change and adherence to the principle of safer sex (Catania, Kegeles & Coates,

1990). According to Bell, and Griffore and Kallen (as cited in Breakwell, Millward & Fife-Schaw, 1994) it is consistent with the notion of empowerment, which has come to guide the approach to health intervention, relying on individual commitment to and responsibility for change. Three sets of processes or stages within the AIDS risk reduction model are proposed leading to behavioural changes which embody the premise outlined above: (a) recognition and labeling of one's sexual behaviours as high risk for contracting HIV, (b) making a commitment to reduce high-risk behaviours and/or to increase low risk activities which requires that the individual assumes ownership of the problem as well as the responsibility for doing something about it, and (c) seeking and enacting strategies to obtain these goals (Catania, Kegeles & Coates, 1990).

The AIDS risk reduction model proves to be even more inappropriate to the demands of the current research than its predecessor, the Health belief model. It is indeed firmly rooted in an individualist epistemology, which disregards any contextual influence upon the sexual decision-making process, in favour of an empowered, omnipotent decisionmaker.

All of the models discussed up to this point reflect a tendency to produce predictive theory concerning an isolated mechanism (Moscovici, 1985), and to place the individual at the centre of cognition and action (Marcova & Wilkie, 1987). They are a product of mainstream psychology, which has to date been dominated by a limited medicalised perspective. According to Tiefer (1995), such a perspective has held sway because it accesses and maintains prevailing scientific authority, thus offering respectability to researchers. An alternative point of view has, however, emerged from other areas of scholarship, such as symbolic interactionism, symbolic anthropology, ethnomethodology, literary deconstructionism, existentialism, phenomenology and social psychology, adhering to the centrality of social context in sexual decision-making situations (Gergen, 1985). It has been coined social constructionism and provides an appropriate framework within which current research goals could be assimilated and pursued.

4.2 Social constructionism and its application to the current research

It is the fundamental assumption of the social constructionist paradigm that "reality is socially constructed" (Bayer, 1998; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; DeLamater & Hyde, 1998; Gergen, 1985; Tiefer, 1995; Weeks, 1986). Reality is not an objective constant, but rather a subjective process created within the socio-cultural moment. According to Gergen (1985) social constructionism

emphasises the person's active role, guided by his or her culture, in continually structuring the reality that affects his or her own values and behaviour. When applied to sexuality, the social constructionist paradigm would thus postulate that there is no essential human quality or inner drive that is sexuality. Sexuality and sexual experience is produced, changed and modified within an ever-changing sexual discourse (Foucault, 1978). People become sexual in the same way they become everything else. Without much reflection, they pick up directions from their social environment (Carpenter, 1998; Gagnon, 1990; Laumann, Gagnon, Michael & Michaels, 1994). They acquire and assemble meanings, skills and values from the different contexts that they function in, such as the intimate heterosexual relationship that has been selected as investigative focus for the current research study.

According to Gergen (1985) the message of social constructionism is that persons actively construct the meanings that frame and organise their perceptions and experience. To understand people's experience, one must thus try to get inside their perspectives. And this means adhering to their language. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966) language provides the basis on which we make sense of the world. It provides us with the categories that we need to classify events and persons and to order them; and it provides the means by which we interpret new experiences. Language or discourse is indeed "prior to and constitutive of the world" (Miller as cited in DeLamater & Hyde, 1998, p. 14).

Social constructionism thus has definite methodological research implications. Primarily it challenges the objective basis of conventional knowledge, that is studying the world in terms of available concepts, categories and methods. According to authors such as Gergen (1985), Tiefer (1995), and Unger (1982) such concepts incline researchers towards or even dictate certain lines of inquiry while precluding others, and this in itself is invalid, dangerous and unethical. Descriptions and explanations of the world are indeed themselves forms of social actions that have consequences (Gergen, 1985; Gilligan, 1982). One cannot continue to popularise and persist with particular concepts, categories and methods merely because of their political usefulness.

Many of the concepts and categories people use in scholarship and everyday life vary considerably in their meanings and connotations over time and across contexts; and acknowledgement of such variation makes sheer questionnaire research or simple citation of earlier scholarship problematic (Gergen, 1985). We need to assume a more open-ended,

interpretive type of approach, that allows us to tap into people's own meaning-making and improve our understanding thereof (Strachan, 1995; Tiefer, 1995). In terms of the current research study this means that in order to improve upon our understanding of coloured female adolescent sexual behaviour, we must allow subjects to speak for themselves about contextual realities in their lives; in this case, the intimate heterosexual relationships in which they are sexually active. Social constructionism also demands that the researcher acknowledge that she co-constructs meaning with her respondents. Social constructionist researchers should, therefore, continually reflect upon their contribution to the research process (Banister et al., 1995). (I attempted to do this in section 8.3).

In conclusion, it is evident that social constructionism provides an appropriate and directive theoretical framework for the current research study. In contrast to most other models that are used to investigate female adolescent sexuality, this paradigm acknowledges the importance of adhering to social context when studying individual behaviour. It is thus in agreement with the goal of this research, which is to deepen our understanding of coloured female adolescent sexual risk-taking behaviour by exploring the intimate heterosexual contexts in which such individuals are sexually active. Furthermore, social constructionism provides clear guidelines with regards to methodological practice. It advocates placing subjects at the centre of the method we use; giving them a chance to speak for themselves about their experiences. In the current research study, subjects had to be given the opportunity to describe the intimate heterosexual relationships in which they were involved, in order to understand the meaning they attach to their sexual risk-taking behaviour within this context.

5. RESEARCH METHOD

The methodology of this study incorporated both qualitative and quantitative approaches to data collection and analysis, “so attempting to balance the creativity of the subjective with the rigor of the objective, in-so-far as that is possible” (Moore & Rosenthal, 1992, p. 417). A qualitative approach was favoured because of an identified lack of available literature on the intricacies of the coloured female adolescent intimate heterosexual relationship, which needed to be addressed in an open and exploratory way. It was however also important to obtain certain factual information regarding the sexual behaviour history of coloured female adolescents, in order to lend contextualised meaning to qualitative data yielded. A quantitative approach enabled collection of structured, starting-off data, providing a directive framework in which qualitative data could be integrated and better understood.

5.1 Quantitative research

5.1.1 Respondents

The respondents were 40 pregnant female adolescents within the statistically proven high risk coloured community of Stellenbosch. They were traced through prenatal clinics conducted at the Community Health Centre and Municipal Clinic in a coloured residential area.

The biographical details of the research sample were as follows :

The average age of the respondents was 16.92 ($sd = 1.3$), with a range of 14 to 19 years. Regarding educational status, 27.5% ($n=11$) had not achieved higher than standard 5, whilst 60% ($n=24$) had reached between standard 6 and standard 8, and only 12.5% ($n=5$) higher than standard 8. The majority (90%, $n=36$) of the respondents were currently not attending school. In terms of household composition, 77.5% of respondents reported living in households with 5 or more inhabitants. The largest proportion (52.5%, $n=21$) of respondents came from intact nuclear families, 30% ($n=12$) from step-families, 10% ($n=4$) from single-parent families and 7.5% ($n=3$) from some other form of home environment, such as living with their boyfriends' families. Half ($n=20$) of the respondents were the oldest sibling. A maximum of 3 household earners were reported by 87.5% ($n=35$) of respondents. Of these individuals, 62.5% ($n=25$) were said to perform unskilled labour, 32.5% ($n=13$) semi-skilled labour, and only 5% ($n=2$) skilled labour. These findings were also reflected in the fact that 55% ($n=22$) of the households were

bringing in a total income of less than R1000 per month, whilst 35% ($n=14$) were earning between R1000 and R3000, and only 10% ($n=4$) over R3000.

It can be concluded that the respondents participating in the current study were a group of adolescent girls who came from working class socio-economic circumstances. It can be hypothesised that, for these young women and their families, limited financial means gave way to overcrowded homes where households were not necessarily based on kinship, and where adolescents and children were often left to their own devices while all able adults work. Education also seemed to receive lower priority.

5.1.2 Measures

A questionnaire (see Appendix 1) was used to provide valueable details regarding respondents' sexual behaviour history. The questionnaire was compiled by the researcher, as there is a paucity of existing measuring instruments exploring the female adolescent's intimate heterosexual context. It is self-completionary in nature in order to facilitate disclosure of sensitive data which respondents may have evaded in conversation with me. Being the home language of respondents, the questionnaire was compiled in Afrikaans to simplify completion thereof.

The questionnaire consisted of 43 items, and was divided into two main components, namely an inventory of sexual experience and a personal data section. The personal data section of the questionnaire was used in order to provide the researcher with background information on the respondents that she deemed to be relevant to the current study. Closed-ended questions were employed in order to yield data regarding respondents' age, educational status, household composition, household income, pregnancy, and willingness to participate in the interview component of the research. Respondents were required to provide such information in the appropriate spaces provided or to circle the multiple choice option that suited them best. The inventory of sexual experience attempted to yield a detailed account of respondents heterosexual history, and included questions on sexual schooling, non-coital involvements with the opposite sex, sexual relationships and contraceptive use. These questions were also closed-ended and prompted respondents to provide very specific factual information in the appropriate spaces provided. In some instances multiple choice questions were offered, upon which respondents merely had to circle the options that suited them best. Questions which were sensitive in nature, were recurrently preceded by a declaration of confidentiality.

The questionnaire does suffer the drawback of not being empirically tested – reliability and validity as well as generalisation of results thus being negatively affected. This did however not detract from the valueable descriptive data that was yielded.

5.1.3 Procedures for data collection

The researcher attended prenatal clinics conducted at the Community Health Centre and Municipal Clinic in the specific coloured residential area. On these occasions prospective research respondents were identified by nursing staff and introduced to me. I informed them about the purpose and nature of the current research study, and motivated them to participate. Confidentiality and anonymity were ensured. Everyone agreed to cooperate, and were subsequently requested to sign letters of consent (see Appendix 2). The following issues were highlighted here within:

- 1) the goal of the research;
- 2) explanation of the questionnaire component of the research and what this would practically entail for the respondent;
- 3) confidentiality and specific measures to ensure confidentiality during all stages of the research (from data collection to dissemination of information);
- 4) limits to confidentiality and the duty to report;
- 5) respondent's right to discontinue participation at any stage of the research for any reason;
- 6) the availability of resources (telephone numbers of counselling services) should respondents become aware of personal problems during any stage of the research; and
- 7) the researcher's credentials (see Appendix 3).

5.1.4 Data analysis

Questionnaire data was quantified to determine the sexual behaviour patterns of respondents. Information yielded was descriptive in nature, and frequencies, central values and measures of variance were obtained in the analysis. The Statistica computer package was used to process the data.

5.2 Qualitative research

5.2.1 Method

Grounded theory was chosen as qualitative research method for the current study. According to Charmaz (1995), this approach broadly entails a logically consistent set of data collection and analytic procedures aimed at developing theory. It involves starting with individual cases, incidents or experiences and subsequently developing progressively more abstract conceptual categories to synthesise, explain, and understand such data, and to identify patterned relationships within it. The researcher begins with an area to study, then builds her theoretical analysis on what she discovers to be relevant in the actual worlds that she studies within this area. Grounded theory has been found to be very suitable for studying interpersonal relations, because it is designed to study processes (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). This was also the aim of the current research effort, namely exploring the dynamics of the coloured female adolescent intimate heterosexual relationship. Furthermore, the supporters of grounded theory consider it to be a solid approach to qualitative investigating which can be freely used by researchers with any amount of experience (Charmaz, 1990; Charmaz, 1995; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Orona, 1990).

Since it was first introduced in 1967 by Glaser and Strauss, many versions of grounded theory have been developed (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). In accordance with the theoretical framework within which the current study was conducted, Charmaz' (1990) social constructionist conceptualisation of grounded theory was subsequently selected as appropriate to the research process. Charmaz (1990) states that a social constructionist grounded theory views the process of categorisation as dialectical and active, rather than as given in the reality and passively observed by any trained observer. The interaction between the researcher and the data result in the identification of categories, so that the research report also becomes a social construction of the social constructions found and explicated in the data. Inherent to its philosophical stance, social constructionist grounded theory thus challenges the importance placed upon scientific canons of reliability and validity, motivating researchers to see beyond existing concepts and use them in new ways (Charmaz, 1990).

5.2.2 Respondents

Ten respondents were selected from the larger group of questionnaire respondents for interview purposes. The following criteria contained within the questionnaire were used to guide this process:

- a) Willingness to participate: The respondents were requested in the questionnaire to indicate whether they would be prepared to participate in an interview with the researcher in order to yield more detailed information regarding the intimate heterosexual relationship in which they fell pregnant.
- b) Absence of coercion in sexual interaction with partner: The respondent was not abused, raped or forced in any way to have sex.
- c) Unintentional pregnancy: The respondent did not have unprotected sex because she wanted to fall pregnant for some reason or another.
- d) Recurrent unprotected sexual intercourse with partner: Having unsafe sex was not an isolated event, but a recurring phenomenon.
- e) Practical considerations: I was able to trace the respondent telephonically and arrange a suitable time and venue for interview purposes.

The biographical details of the interview respondents were as follows:

The average age of the respondents was 16.9 ($sd = 1.37$), with a range of 14 to 19 years.

Regarding educational status, 10% ($n = 1$) had not achieved higher than standard 3, whilst 70% ($n = 7$) had reached between standard 6 and standard 8, and only 20% ($n = 2$) higher than standard 8. The majority (90%, $n = 9$) of the respondents were currently not attending school. In terms of household composition, 90% of respondents reported living in households with 5 or more inhabitants. Half ($n = 5$) of the respondents came from intact nuclear families, 20% ($n = 2$) from step-families, 20% ($n = 2$) from single-parent families and 10% ($n = 1$) from another form of home environment, namely living with her boyfriend's family. The larger proportion of respondents (55.6%) were the oldest sibling in their families, whilst 44.4% were not the oldest child ($n = 9$). A maximum of 3 household earners were reported by 80% ($n = 8$) of respondents. Half ($n = 5$) of these individuals performed unskilled labour, 40% ($n = 4$) semi-skilled labour, and only 10% ($n = 1$) skilled labour. These findings were also reflected in the fact that 50% ($n = 5$) of the households were bringing in a total income of less than R1000 per month, whilst 40% ($n = 4$) were earning between R1000 and R3000, and only 10% ($n = 1$) over R3000.

Demographically, there seemed to be no significant disparities between the qualitative research sample and the larger quantitative research population from which it was drawn. The majority of adolescent girls participating in the interview component of this study also stemmed from working class socio-economic circumstances, characterised by meagre household income, overpopulation and limited education.

5.2.3. Interviews

According to selection criteria outlined earlier, 23 of the questionnaire respondents proved to be suitable for interview purposes. I listed these 23 candidates numerically according to the code numbers indicated on their questionnaires, upon which I proceeded to contact them telephonically in the order in which their names appeared on my list. Eventually, only ten respondents could however be traced. I proceeded to negotiate an agreeable interview time and venue with each of these ten young women, upon which I met with them individually. Some of the meetings took place at the clinics where respondents were initially introduced to the researcher, whilst transport problems made it necessary to conduct some of the interviews in the privacy of respondents' homes.

Upon meeting with respondents on a one-to-one level, a slightly revised informed consent form was discussed with them (see Appendix 4). The following issues were highlighted here within:

- 1) the goal of the research;
- 2) explanation of the interview component of the research and what this would practically entail for the respondent;
- 3) confidentiality and specific measures to ensure confidentiality during all stages of the research (from data collection to dissemination of information);
- 4) limits to confidentiality and the duty to report;
- 5) respondent's right to discontinue participation at any stage of the research for any reason;
- 6) the availability of resources (telephone numbers of counselling services) should respondents become aware of personal problems during any stage of the research; and
- 7) the researcher's credentials (see Appendix 3).

The interviews were unstructured and open-ended in nature, aimed at eliciting respondents' narratives about the intimate heterosexual relationships in which they fell pregnant. An interview guide was used to guide the interview process. The interview guide, which was compiled in

Afrikaans, specified tentative cues for interviews (see Appendix 5). As the researcher was interested in obtaining very precise information on interactional nuances within the heterosexual dyad, it was decided to focus interviews on detailed narration of a single event, namely the first occasion on which respondents had sexual intercourse with their partners, rather than a generalised discussion of their relationships.

Interviews were conducted in privacy by the researcher. Being a registered social worker and intern clinical psychologist, I was equipped with the appropriate interviewing and observational skills, as well as relevant training in community work. The duration of interviews was approximately 40 minutes. All interviews were audiotaped. Respondents chose a codename, which was the only form of identification used during the interview and on transcripts of the interview, and which was added to the earlier mentioned identification list. (Transcribed interviews are added to this document as Appendix 6).

5.2.4. Data analysis

I transcribed the audiotapes and analysed the narratives according to the grounded theory method. Such analysis involved the step-by-step application of certain discreet procedures in order to yield progressively abstract levels of information. In accordance with recommendations by Charmaz (1990), and Corbin and Strauss (1990), I started with line-by-line coding. This involved examining each line of data and defining the actions or events that was seen as occurring in it or as represented by it. According to Charmaz (1990), line-by-line coding helps the researcher to see the familiar in a new light, whilst still remaining close to the data at hand. It is an extremely important step, as it allows you to build your analysis from the ground up without taking off on theoretical flights of fancy. With my initial codes in hand, I proceeded to identify continually reappearing codes. I selected those codes that made the most analytic sense and categorised the data most accurately and completely. These codes were finally raised to the level of categories by explicating their properties; specifying the conditions under which they arise, are maintained and change; describing their consequences; and showing how they relate to other categories. This was made possible by means of memo-writing which was conducted parallel to the entire analytical process. According to Charmaz (1995), memo-writing enables the grounded theorist to continually elaborate processes, assumptions and actions subsumed under codes, thus enabling her to carefully define categories and eventually connect them in an overall process.

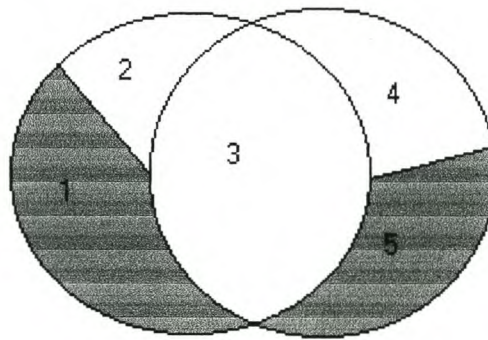
6. QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

I will now proceed to report and discuss quantified data obtained from the questionnaires. In order to remain true to the focus of the current study, only data pertaining to the nature of respondents' intimate heterosexual involvements will be deliberated upon here. Closer inspection of data revealed these contexts to be characterised by monogamy and love-induced sex. These elements will subsequently be used as a framework for the ensuing discussion.

6.1 Monogamy

Figure 6.1

Range of heterosexual involvements ($n = 40$)



- 1 Intimate physical contact without sexual intercourse with more than one partner (22.5%)
- 2 + 3 Intimate physical contact without sexual intercourse with only one partner (77.5%)
- 3 + 4 Sexual intercourse with only one partner (87.5%)
- 4 Sexual intercourse with more than one partner (12.5%)

The overriding majority of respondents (87.5%, $n = 35$) reported to have experienced sexual intercourse with only one partner. In 71.4% ($n = 25$) of these cases their sexual partner proved to be the same individual with which respondents shared their first intimate physical contact without sexual intercourse. The larger proportion (62%, $n = 25$) of young girls participating in the current research thus proved to ever have been intimate, with and without sexual intercourse, with only one heterosexual partner.

Furthermore, questionnaire data revealed that such intimate involvement extended across a minimum period of two years for most of the respondents in question. The average age of first intimate physical contact with the opposite sex was found to be 14.4 ($sd = 1.4$), with a range of 11 to 17. The average age of first sexual intercourse was 15.6 ($sd = 1.5$), with a range of 12 to 19, and the average age at questionnaire completion was 16.9 ($sd = 1.3$), with a range of 14 to 19, during which time the majority of respondents (77.5%, $n = 31$) reported to still be emotionally involved with their partners.

Hence, questionnaire data revealed respondents' intimate heterosexual contexts to be predominantly monogamous. These relationships reflected a sense of endurance and steady commitment to a single partner, that is commonly thought to evade most adolescent heterosexual involvements. Literature on adolescents indeed revealed most of them to be serial monogamists or sexual adventurers (Sorensen as cited in Dusek, 1987). Serial monogamists, being the largest representative group, refer to individuals who are involved with one steady partner at a time, but usually do not stay committed to the relationship, and move on to other similar involvements. Sexual adventurers refer to individuals who seek a variety of heterosexual partners. In contrast to current research findings, adolescent intimate heterosexual relationships thus tend to be relatively short-lived and rapid in turnover (Campbell, 1989; Jaffe, 1998; Shaughnessy & Shakesby, 1992). According to Shaughnessy and Shakesby (1992), and Steinberg and Levine (1992), this inability to remain committed and deal with the demands of a long term relationship can be attributed to the heightened self-consciousness that develops during adolescence, as well as the emotional immaturities inherent to this developmental stage.

The respondents participating in the current research did not practise sexual risk-taking behaviour in the context of a short term attempt at a committed relationship with a heterosexual partner, or in the context of multiple promiscuous involvements with the opposite sex, as one would expect, but in the context of a single steady relationship. The overwhelming influence of heterosexual relationship dynamics upon the sexual behaviour of young women participating in the study, was thus accentuated, demonstrating the urgency with which this topic needs to be further explored and understood.

6.2 Sex means love

Sexual intimacy subsequently emerged as another prominent feature of respondents' heterosexual relationships. Such intimacy proved to evolve from less intimate physical exchanges to frequent sexual intercourse. The majority of respondents (90%, $n = 36$) indicated their first physical contact with the opposite sex to be characterised by less intimate touching. Holding hands and exchanging hugs and pecks were the main items listed. Only a small proportion of respondents (10%, $n = 4$) reported engaging in heavy petting on the occasion of their first intimate physical contact with a man. All of these young women however continued to have sex at a later stage, most often with the same partner as above. The overriding majority (87.5%, $n = 35$) indicated that they had consented to intercourse, and 85% ($n = 34$) reported to continue doing so on a regular basis.

These findings coincide with literature on adolescent heterosexual context. According to authors such as Louw, Van Ede and Louw (1998), and Olivier (1996), sexual behaviour between adolescent couples usually progresses from holding hands and kissing, to necking (embracing), petting (intimate love-making) and sexual intercourse. Ultimately, many adolescent romantic relationships are qualified by sex (Christopher & Cate, 1988; Craig, 1992; McKinney & Sprecher, 1991; Weinstein & Rosen, 1991). This has proven to be especially true within deprived communities, such as the coloured community in question, in which a culture of sexual involvement has been reported to exist (Preston-Whyte & Zondi, 1991). Members of these communities tend to live according to a satisfaction-of-basic-needs philosophy, thus demonstrating a greater acceptance of premarital sexual activity to their offspring, particularly in the context of a romantic attachment.

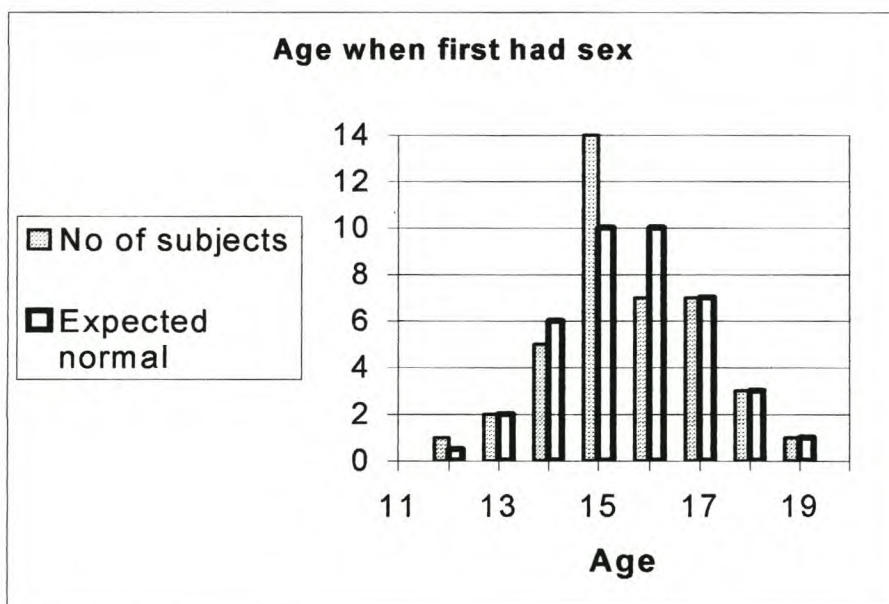
Questionnaire data, however, proceeded to reveal that for respondents participating in the current study, sex did not merely result from being romantically attached to someone, but in itself signified a shift in relationship intensity. The larger proportion (60%, $n = 24$) of respondents described their relationship with the person that they shared their first intimate physical contact with, as friendship. Only 40% ($n = 16$) referred to it as romantic dating. When asked to describe the nature of their involvement with their first sexual partner (which was most often the same person), 75% ($n = 30$) of the respondents however indicated it to be a romantic dating relationship, and only 17.5% ($n = 7$) referred to it as friendship. These young women thus had sex with their partners in the context of a relationship that they regarded as romantically significant and serious. Sex meant love.

These findings coincide with that of many researchers in the field of female adolescent sexuality. Feminist developmental psychologists report that girls generally make sexual decisions based on the quality of intimacy and engagement in the relationship (Bollerud, Christopherson & Frank as cited in Carpenter, 1998). As opposed to boys who tend to see sex as a decision made between consenting people guided by personal beliefs, teenage girls tend to link sexual activity with love; they “rationalise their sexual activity by believing they (are) carried away by love” and tend to focus more on the need to “satisfy the wishes of their loved ones ... rather than their own sexual needs or desires” (Moore & Rosenthal, 1983, p.85).

The knowledge that most of the respondents practised sex in the context of a progressively serious romantic relationship with their first ever heterosexual partner, gives clearer understanding to the early age at which intercourse was proved to be initiated by these individuals (see Graph 6.1 below), and the subsequent risk-taking behaviour that resulted from it. Respondents reported to have generally advanced from first falling in love with someone at the age of 14.4 years, to experiencing their first intimate physical contact at the age of 14.8 years, to first having sex at 15.6 years, to being pregnant at 16.9 years.

Graph 6.1

Age when first had sex ($n = 40$)



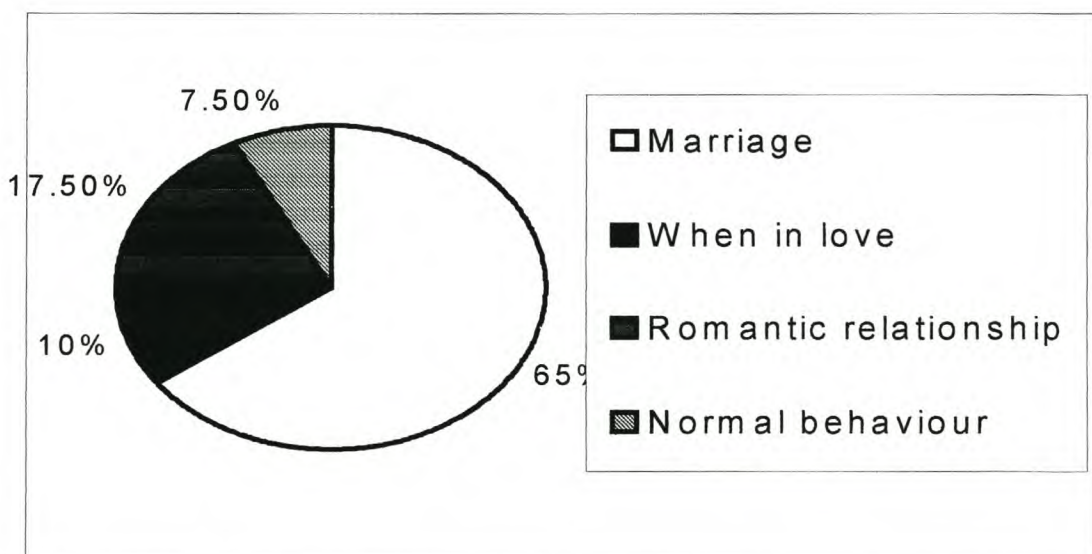
Upon revision of relevant literature it was found that 15 was indeed reported by many authors to be the median age for female initiation of coitus (Dusek, 1987). It was however also the

youngest age recorded and, interestingly, the age considered by Koenig and Zelnik (1982) to be at greatest risk of premarital pregnancy. In 1979, the risk of pregnancy within twelve months of first engaging in premarital intercourse was 41% for the 15 and under age group of women, thus indicating that early initiation of intercourse corresponds to later sexual risk-taking behaviour (Koenig & Zelnik, 1982). These findings were substantiated by Thornton (1990) from a lifecourse developmental perspective. Thornton (1990) argues that young people who experience first dating, first going steady, and first intercourse relatively early in their teen years will proceed along the developmental path toward marriage and marriage-like relationships at younger ages than others. At any particular point in the life course, these individuals will have more intensive dating and courtship relationships than those who initiate dating and courtship later, thus being more sexually involved with their partners and more susceptible to risk-taking.

It was evident that respondents participating in the current research study practised sex in the context of a serious romantic involvement that became progressively more physically intimate over time, and ultimately culminated in sexual risk-taking behaviour. The important influence of heterosexual relationship dynamics upon the sexual behaviour of young women participating in the study was thus once again highlighted. Questionnaire data focussed upon the sexual schooling of respondents subsequently consolidated this finding. This data is presented in the following graph:

Graph 6.2

What respondents believed about sex (n = 40)



Statistics revealed that 65% ($n=26$) of respondents believed that sex was meant for marriage only, 17.5% ($n=7$) thought it could be part of a romantic relationship, 10% ($n=4$) believed sex was something that naturally happened when you were in love, and 7.5% ($n=3$) believed that sex could take place at any time with any person. The majority of respondents participating in the current study were thus abstinence orientated, inherently ascribing to notions of chastity and marriage.

In spite of their moral prohibitions against sex, most of these young women (87.5%, ($n=35$)) however indicated that they later willingly engaged in premarital sexual intercourse with their partners and continued to do so on a regular basis (85%, $n=34$). Their beliefs regarding sex were behaviourally challenged in the context of intimate heterosexual interaction. These findings coincide with previous research claims regarding the non-casual relationship between knowledge or intention, and behaviour, and the important influence of contextual realities upon sexual outcomes (Bailey & Piercy, 1997; Boldero et al., 1992; Bowler et al., 1992; Moore & Rosenthal, 1992; Olsen et al., 1991).

In conclusion, questionnaire data indicated that respondents participating in the current research study held conservative sexual values, mostly in favour of abstinence until marriage. Their chaste intentions, however left them unprepared for the dynamic demands of the heterosexual relationships in which they became involved. These relationships proved to be of a long term, steady nature, and boasted a growing romantic interest coupled by escalating degrees of physical intimacy and, ultimately, sexual involvement. Statistics thus indicated that in order to make a significant contribution to the social problematic outcomes of adolescent sexual risk-taking behaviour, we need to adequately prepare young people for intimate relationships with the opposite sex. As previously stated by authors such as Dockrell and Joffe (1992), and Moore and Rosenthal (1992), we however first need to understand how these relationships look and function in order to accomplish this objective. This was done in more detail within the interview component of the current study.

7. INTERVIEW RESULTS

I will now proceed to discuss the interpretations obtained from interview analysis. In accordance with grounded theory instruction, I will go about this process by discussing categories which emerged from interview data, whilst continually attempting to integrate them into a theoretical stance. It is hoped that the intimate heterosexual context of coloured female adolescents will be elucidated in this manner.

7.1 Having fun

Primarily, the interview data indicated respondents' heterosexual relationships to be recreational and fun-filled. These couples did enjoyable things together. If not "going out on the town" by themselves, they joined their friends, or merely relaxed in each other's company at home.

Wendy:

En toe het ons lekker uitgegaan.
Ons altwee het gaan rondry,
gaan fliek kyk,
ons het gaan videos uitneem,
en ons het altyd restaurant toe gegaan en so.

Mandy:

Ons was nou al ons vriende
het nou saam met mekaar geloop ... soos in die
pad – die Devonvale pad.
Dan was ons nou 'n couple,
elkeen het nou sy boyfriend gehad.
Toe het ons nou die hele dag op en af geloop.

Rentia:

Man, hy het toe die aand by my kom kuier
hier by my ma-hulle se huis,
maar my ma-hulle wassie daai aand hier gewees nie.
Dit was net ons twee gewees.
[Pouse]
[Dink na]

Ag, dit was 'n baie lekker aand gewees.

Ons het innie sitkamer gesit

en kuier

en TV gekyk

en so.

In accordance with literature on adolescents, this is an expected manner of interaction with the opposite sex. In their quest for independence, adolescents enjoy spending time with their peers, removed from the daily activities of family life (Craig, 1992; Hartup, 1983; Papalia & Olds, 1995; Steyn, 1987). This provides them with a sense of freedom and maturity, as they are in a position to make their own choices without input from interfering adults. According to Gullotta, Adams and Montemayor (1993), Jaffe (1998), and Whitbeck, Conger and Kao (1993), mutual recreation with opposite sex members are especially fulfilling as they lend an air of sophistication to the experience. Going out with a boy ensures status amongst the peer group and results in a growing sense of maturity and self-importance.

With earlier questionnaire findings regarding respondents' working class socio-economic circumstances in mind, the concept of recreating together with their heterosexual partners seems to gain special significance. Being part of often overpopulated households in all probability left many of these young girls unfulfilled in terms of their emerging privacy and independency needs. Furthermore, it could be expected that the economic hardship facing them resulted in an uninspiring existence which limited their options in terms of extra-mural relaxation. It would seem that the recreational heterosexual relationships in which respondents were involved, not only may have provided them with a sense of freedom in their lives, but it also may have been a source of pleasureable diversion from their household circumstances.

Analysis of interviews indicated that couples' mutual recreation culminated in them relating on a deeper level. Spending large amounts of time in each other's company, regularly engaged in enjoyable activities that promote close interaction, naturally motivated respondents to interact more confidently with their partners. This is closely related to the second category emerging from data – trusting and sharing.

7.2 Trusting and sharing

From the interviews it became evident that the respondents often believed that they shared a strong friendship with their partners. Their interaction was not merely characterised by superficial engagement in joint activities, but seemed to constitute a more significant connection on an emotional level.

Suzette:

Maar ek en my outjie het 'n baie spesiale vriendskap.

Interview data recurrently indicated that most of the respondents involved came to perceive their heterosexual partners as soul-mates in the course of time spent together with them. These young girls experienced a sense of affinity with their partners, believing them to be individuals who intrinsically thought and felt the same way as themselves. Kendal relates that sometimes she and her partner only had to look at one another to know what the other one was thinking. “Ons maak jokes oor mense, ... en dan hoef ons net vir mekaar te kyk om vir hulle te begin lag en so.” By implication many of the respondents and their partners thus seemed to share an understanding for one another which prompted them to confide more intimately in each other. Respondents recurrently referred to the ease with which they discovered they could communicate with their partners, and to the sense of satisfaction that they proceeded to gain from such exchanges.

Abby:


Ons het sommer net buite rondgeloop
en lekker gesels en so aan.

Suzette:

Ons gesels baie
en dit is genuine nice.

Kendal:

Ons het baie lekker gesels daai dag – soos altyd.

 It would thus seem as if most of the girls participating in the interview component of this study found a confidant in their heterosexual partners. They came to feel safe and secure in the company of these young men, trusting them to be individuals with whom they could discuss things unreservedly, without fear of rejection. As Kendal indeed pointed out: “Ons

twee, hoe kan ek sê, ons twee praat oor alles". Consequently, respondents came to draw strength from the ability to share intimate personal matters with their partners. The interviews revealed that they perceived their heterosexual relationships as a valuable source of emotional support and upliftment in their lives. ✕

Suzette:

Hy staan my rêrig wonderlik by.

Mandy:

Hy het gesê hy sal altyd na my toe kom
en vir my beskerm ...

Rentia:

Hy het my altyd gerespect
en hy het altyd baie mooi na my gekyk.

The concept of emotional connection gains clearer understanding in the light of existing literature regarding adolescents. Based upon changes in their physical, cognitive and social make-up, it has been found that adolescents develop a greater need for intimacy and self-disclosure (Berndt & Perry, 1990; Louw, Van Ede & Louw, 1998; Sigelman & Shaffer, 1995). As their growing need for independence cause them to gradually distance themselves from their parents, adolescents tend to look to peer group members, whom they perceive to think and feel the same as themselves, to form close friendship relationships with (Berndt & Perry, 1990; Hartup, 1983; Papalia & Olds, 1995; Steyn, 1987). According to authors such as Hamachek (1985), Heaven (1994), Pombeni et al. (1990), and Sloane (1986), close friendships help teenagers to cope with the stressors of adolescence. They counteract loneliness and isolation and contribute towards adolescents' self-concept development. Furthermore, self-disclosure and honest communication between close friends provide opportunities not only to get to know themselves better, but also to be sensitive towards others – skills that play a role in their identity development and development of empathy. ✕

As indicated in the literature, adolescent friendships tend to receive even greater prominence in the midst of inconsistent, noncohesive and maladaptive family behaviour, as was proved to be the experience of many of the interview respondents in the current study (Chilman, 1980; Gordon, 1996; Hamachek, 1985). Most of these young girls indeed indicated to the researcher that they communicated poorly with their parents or guardians, and experienced feelings of social and emotional isolation within their family systems.

Suzette:

Ek en my ma kom mos nie lekker oor die weg nie.
En ek het ook nie by haar gebly toe ek kleiner was nie.
Ek het by my ouma gebly,
maar my ouma lewe nie meer nie.

Abby:

Ek voel alleen
asof daar niemand is met wie ek kan praat nie;
niemand is wat verstaan hoe ek voel nie.
Dan verlang ek soms na my ouers.
Want daar is ook nie regtig iemand by my
suster-hulle met wie ek kan praat nie ...

Conclusively, it can be noted that connecting on an emotional level inherently involved self-disclosure for respondents. With the positive feedback that they gained from their heterosexual friendships, it could thus be expected that they would feel increasingly comfortable with such exposure, trusting their relationships with their partners to be safe, non-threatening areas in which their needs to belong and be supported could be fulfilled in a significant manner. At this point it would be interesting to note that the feelings of safeness and security that respondents reported to experience in connection with their partners, was in sharp contrast to the notion of sexual victimisation that young women are commonly socialised into. The idea of protecting themselves against their partner was contradictory to their experiential conception and made no sense within their own heterosexual context. Ultimately, these young girls thus became more and more engrossed in their relationships, naturally evoking a deepened intimacy experience.

7.3 Loving

Interview data indicated that respondents came to experience a deep affection for their heterosexual partners in the course of their relationships. Such affection transcended the boundaries of friendship and entered the arena of romantic love. In discussion with the researcher, respondents recurrently indicated that they not only regarded their heterosexual partners as companions and confidants, but that they grew to have strong tender feelings for them. In retrospect, I realise that I should have explored these constructions of “love” in much more detail with the respondents in order to understand their understanding of these words more fully.

Jenny:

Ek is rêrig nogals lief vir hom ...

Vanessa:

Ek was lief vir hom ...

Wendy:

Ek is eintlik nog altyd baie erg oor hom ...

Mandy:

Ek voel ek is nog altyd lief vir hom ...

These findings coincide with what the literature on adolescents have come to reveal. According to authors such as Craig (1992), Dusek (1987), Louw, Van Ede and Louw (1998), and Papalia and Olds (1995), it is developmentally appropriate for adolescents to make the social transition from friendship to romantic relationships. Based upon a process of maturation in their physical and cognitive make-up, as well as an intensified need for intimacy, adolescents are increasingly attracted to the prospect of a close relationship with someone from the opposite sex. In their search for meaning and purpose and an understanding of things, adolescents are in need of a sounding-board. Intimacy then serves as protection against that which is intuitively feared, namely isolation, alienation, loneliness and even expulsion or rejection. Real intimacy means to open up to another person, and to share in a significant relationship such as a steady romantic involvement (Boshoff, 1976). NB

Interviews continued to reveal that the shift to emotional intimacy in their relationships significantly intensified respondents' personal involvement with their heterosexual partners. These young girls indicated the feelings that they now experienced in connection with their partners to be different to any that they might have experienced in the past with another person.] a

Vanessa:

Hy was die eerste ou vir wie ek regtig
iets gevoel het.

Kendal:

Maar die outjie was anders ...
Ek was nog nooit lief vir 'n ander kêrel gewees

of so te sê nie.

Maar ek was nogals lief vir hom.

Rentia:

Maar hy ...

hoe sal 'n mens sê ...

ek het nog nooit so gevoel oor enige iemand nie.

This perceived differentness in their attachment to their partners, subsequently caused respondents to believe that their relationships were special and not governed by the laws that guide most other people's heterosexual interactions. They started forming highly idealised images of their relationships and the mutual importance that they and their partners held for each other, indicating their emotional experience to be a rare phenomenon often incomprehensible to others and envied by them. As Rentia indicated:

Ons twee is baie lief vir mekaar.

Dit wat ons vir mekaar voel is rêrig baie spesiaal.

Min mense verstaan dit

and

Maar hulle (my vriende) is net jaloers gewees

en hulle het net glad nie geverstaan wat dit beteken as

twee mense so lief is vir mekaar nie.

These findings relate to literature on adolescent egocentrism. As suggested by Elkind (1967), immature formal operational thought leads to the assumption for many adolescents that others are as concerned with their own thoughts, feelings and behaviour as they are themselves, and that they are unusually unique and not subject to the laws that govern other peoples' lives. Consequently, they tend to approach their heterosexual relationships with great intensity. Adolescents usually believe that their romantic involvements are special. They like to think that no one ever loved so much as they do, and that their relationships will last forever (Campbell, 1989; Miller et al., 1997).

The interview data also indicated that the respondents' idealised notions regarding their relationships were reinforced by intimate communication with their partners. These young women recurrently revealed to the researcher that they and their partners openly discussed the

specialness of their feelings for one another and the value placed upon their relationship by them both, ultimately deepening their experience of emotional intimacy. According to Shaughnessy and Shakesby (1992), the ability to label and describe their feelings for their partners indeed intensifies the level of intimacy that a couple is capable of. As Abby, Kendal and Mandy indicated:

(Waaroor het julle alles gesels ?)

Ag, oor hoe lief ons vir mekaar is.

En hoe bang ons is ons verloor mekaar.

Ons het baie oor ons verhouding ook gepraat.

Ons het begin om oor ons verhouding te gesels.

Interviews continued to reveal that respondents were socialised into a culture of romantic idealism, which impacted quite heavily upon the emotional intimacy component of their heterosexual relationships. These young girls grew up believing that true love was an ultimate cause in life that had to be aspired to and engaged in with complete dedication and commitment. As Rentia's mother indeed reported to her daughter:

So 'n liefde is 'n baie spesiale ding

en 'n mens moet dit geniet

en alles doen wat jy kan om dit nie te verloor nie.

It can be speculated that the notion of romance was adhered to, because it enabled escape into a different, more glamorous world. As there was indeed no way in which respondents and their families could materially enter the soap opera world of the rich and famous, which they so admired in media depictions, it needed to be done on an imaginative level. Upon meeting with Rentia, she and her entire family were absorbed in watching a TV episode of Dallas, which was also discussed in great length with the researcher prior to their interview. (Unfortunately, I neglected to tape this part of the interview and I could not remember the specifics.) It would seem as if romance provided excitement and meaning to an otherwise dreary and uninspiring existence.

Respondents fantasised about experiencing romantic love, and proceeded to project these fantasies onto the heterosexual relationships that they eventually became involved in. In light

of the intensity of their emotional attachments to their partners, they chose to believe that their relationships were fairy tale love affairs, governed by laws far removed from the realities of everyday life and experience, and filled with fateful purpose.

Suzette:

Want ek het gedink hy is die ou van my drome.

Mandy:

en ons twee is reg vir mekaar en so

These findings coincide with previous gender related research. Many authors have indeed commented on the high regard adolescent girls place upon the value of romantic love (Carpenter, 1998; Eaton et al., 1991; Schmitt & Buss, 1996). In contrast with young men who strive towards individuality and impersonality, young women inherently seek a feeling of connectedness in relationship. As such they expect more from heterosexual involvements emotionally, and give a greater degree of attention to the love experience within such relationships.

In light of the intensity of their emotional experience, interview data indicated that respondents' intimate heterosexual relationships ultimately became a primary source of meaning-giving in their lives. Respondents indicated to the researcher that the feelings of love and wantedness they experienced within their relational contexts, gave them a higher purpose in life. It allowed them to ascend into something bigger than themselves, in a manner of speaking. Being with their partners and sharing in a loving experience with them, now became priority in their lives, and gave direction to it.

Rentia:

Maar ek het ook 'ie meer oor hulle (my vriende) geworry nie.

Al wat ek ook geworry het was om by my ou te wees.

Abby:

Ek het eers by my ma-hulle gebly in Touws.

Maar dis 'n goeie entjie.

En toe het ek maar hier onder by my suster-hulle ingetrek om naby hom te kan wees.

Wendy:

(Nadat ek hom ontmoet het) het ek aanmekaar kom kuier
hier by my ma.
En op die ou einde toe het ek sommer hier kom bly.

These findings seem to gain clearer understanding in the context of respondents' dire socio-economic circumstances. Trapped in a cycle of poverty, as questionnaire data indeed revealed most of the respondents to be, it could be expected that life had little to offer these young girls in terms of personal actualisation and the achievement of significant career goals. As authors such as Brindis (1992), Chilman (1980), De Kock (1980), De Villiers and Clift (1979), and Preston-Whyte and Allen (1992) have reported, members of deprived communities tend to experience little hope for the future, viewing society as essentially hostile and dangerous and themselves as powerless. They tend to live according to a satisfaction-of-basic-needs philosophy, reacting to opportunities for personal pleasure whenever they arise. Interviews also revealed that only three of the respondents had any future educational ambitions.

Ryna:

Al wat ek weet is dat ek graag my matriek
sal wil gaan kry

Vanessa:

Ek wou so graag iets met my lewe maak

Kendal:

Ek wil graag maatskaplike werk gaan studeer as ek
daarmee (met my matriek) klaar is.

The concept of emotional intimacy inevitably brings us to the ensuing relationship characteristic of physical intimacy. Physical intimacy is indeed an expected response to emotional intimacy. It is an outward, consolidating expression of feelings experienced, which ultimately constituted a major part of respondents' heterosexual relationships. I will now attempt to explore this aspect in as much detail as possible, as it will ultimately form an integral part of our understanding of coloured female adolescent sexual risk-taking behaviour.

7.4 Love-making

Interviews revealed respondents' heterosexual relationships to be characterised by a high degree of physical intimacy, which was initially less physically intimate in nature, but eventually developed into sexual relations. As a multitude of authors in the field of adolescence have come to reveal, this was an expected phenomenon (e.g. Miller et al., 1993; Olivier, 1996; Thornton, 1990; Weinstein & Rosen, 1991).

Regarding specifics, it was primarily noted that physical intimacy between partners was mostly not an isolated occurrence. It invariably evolved from close emotional interaction between them; interaction in which feelings of wantedness and connectedness were enforced and an atmosphere of romance created.

Kendal:

Ons het 'n kombers oopgegooi langs die huis
en lank daar gesit en gesels.
Ons het baie oor ons verhouding ook gepraat.
Dit het laat geraak
en dit was amper tyd vir my om huis toe te gaan ...
en toe het ons beginne vry.

Suzette:

En ons het toe net gesels en so aan.
Oor ons verhouding nou, en so.
.....
Ons het toe begin om mekaar se hande vas te hou,
in mekaar se oë te kyk,
en gesels
en te vry ook

The respondents reported that they enjoyed the less intimate physical exchanges spontaneously emerging from romantic interaction with their partners. They referred to such physical contact as *vry*, an affectionate Afrikaans term used to describe the endearing exchange of physical intimacies between willing partners. Their enjoyment was seemingly grounded in feelings of trust, safeness, warmth and love generated by the relational context at that stage, and it resulted in unreserved surrender to and engrossment in the desire of the moment. Respondents mostly indicated that they were oblivious to an ensuing sexual process

between them and their partners, and that this caused them to relax and respond wholeheartedly to physical advances made.

Mandy:

Toe het ons nou begin te vry en so.
Dit was nogals lekker gewees.
Terwyl ons vry het hy gesê
hy is baie lief vir my en so.
Hy het gesê hy sal altyd na my toe kom
en vir my beskerm
en ons twee is reg vir mekaar en so.

Kendal:

En toe het ons beginne vry.
Ek het die vryery baie geniet,
want ons was in 'n baie romantiese mood.
Ek het op daai stadium nog glad nie besef dat ons gaan seks nie.

At this stage, I would like to deliberate upon respondents' presented unawareness regarding the possibility of sexual intercourse between them and their partners. Why would these young women choose to pertinently construct themselves as sexually uncued, in the light of immediately prior reference to the feelings of heightened physical attraction they often experienced in interaction with their partners? Why would they acknowledge their own sexual desire towards their partners, and then immediately proceed to counteract it with claims of sexual ignorance? It can be speculated that respondents' denial of any sexual awareness was an attempt to start rationalising their eventual risk-taking behaviour. By constructing sex as something that they were unknowledgeable about and never consciously decided upon, they could free themselves from any blame regarding its occurrence within their own heterosexual contexts. They did not want to take responsibility for practising unsafe sex, and used their sexual unawareness as a condonation for doing so.

This rationalisation process was continued throughout respondents' narratives. Analysis of data furthermore indicated that respondents constructed the transition from less intimate physical contact to sexual interaction between them and their heterosexual partners as inconspicuous. They recurrently indicated the unimposing nature of the day on which sexual relations were initiated, and the suddenness with which the event eventually transpired. It was almost like a thief in the night, creeping up and eventually overwhelming them. They

indicated themselves to be mere innocent bystanders, unprepared for sex, and not in a position to be held accountable for acting irresponsibly. Respondents' claims of sexual ignorance were however once again brought into question by their acknowledgement of sex as an inevitable reality in a long term intimate heterosexual relationship, thus confirming their probable attempt at rationalisation.

Mandy:

Ek het nie geweet ons gaan seks hê toe ons
begin vry het nie.
Ek het regtig nie gedink dit gaan gebeur nie
... dit het net gebeur.

Jenny:

Ons was in sy kamer gewees
en het begin vry.
En toe het dit sommer net so skielik gebeur.

Jenny:

Ek en my kêrel het al 'n hele tydjie lank uitgegaan,
toe vra hy my eendag of ons nou nie kan begin gemeenskap hê nie.
Ek het nogals geskrik,
maar ek het geweet dit gaan een of ander tyd kom ...

Jenny:

Dis (seks is) mos maar iets wat gebeur,
veral as 'n mens nou al lank uitgaan of so.

In further consolidation of their construction of themselves as sexual victims, respondents continued to express their general non-enjoyment of that first sexual contact. They ascribed their initial repugnance to a variety of factors, all of which were related to the sudden bewildering nature of the experience. Respondents indicated that they were not in a position where they could prepare themselves for their first sexual encounter, and were thus left disorientated by it. Primarily, they reported experiencing intense physical pain as a result of first intercourse. This discomfort was so overwhelming, that it culminated in disillusionment regarding sex, and catalysed other discomforting emotions. Fear seemed to be prominently featured. Many of the respondents indicated that they were extremely anxious during initial sex with their partners. The ugly, painful reality of first intercourse clouded the illusion of

being swept away by passionate, all-consuming romantic love, and laid bare the cold hard facts concerning unsafe sex. For the first time these young women confronted the probable negative consequences of their uninhibited sexual behaviour. They could actually fall pregnant, and this prospect filled them with dread. Furthermore, many of the respondents reported to have experienced intense guilt during that first sexual encounter. The fact that sex did not feel right to them, confirmed restrictive promptings by their moral conscience regarding the unacceptability of premature sexual conduct. Most of these young women were brought up to believe that sex was meant for marriage only, and now felt ashamed at betraying their upbringing and sacrificing their sexual integrity.

Mandy:

Dit was nogals, dit was nou meer pyn gewees
omdat dit die eerste keer was.

Ek kon dit nie regtig geniet
omdat dit so seer was nie.

[Peinsend]

Ek was seker maar disappointed in seks
- dit was baie anders as wat ek gedink het dit
sal wees.

Ek het gedink, "Is dit nou waarom almal so
'n groot bohaai maak?"

[Lang pouse. Praat uiteindelik terwyl af kyk]

Ek het ook die heel tyd skuldig gevoel.

Vanessa:

(En hoe was die seks self vir jou?) O, aaklig!

Dit was baie seer.

Ek was die hele tyd baie senuweeagtig
en styfgetrek.

Ek kon dit nie geniet nie, want
ek was die hele tyd besig met ander gedagtes.

Ek het net aanmekaar gedink:

"Hoe gaan ek my ouers vertel?"

Kendal:

Dit (die seks) was nie so lank nie
en dit was seer.

Ek sou nie rêrig sê ek het dit geniet nie.

Ek was die hele tyd op my senuwees
en daar het baie goed deur my gedagtes gegaan.

Suzette:

Dit was baie swaar gewees ...
[Word stil, kyk af grond toe en voetel met hande voordat verder praat]
Dit was my eerste keer
en dit was seer gewees en so aan.
Hy't sy tyd geneem en so.
Sê maar hy wil nou in,
dan neem hy 'n ruk en so.
En ek het gehuil.
Dit was baie swaar gewees.

Abby:

Daai eerste keer het ek dit (seks) nie regtig geniet nie.
Dit was vir my baie seer gewees.
[Pouse]
Ons het kondome by ons gehad
en ons het dit gebruik.
[Lang stilte. Kyk af asof sensitiewe kwessie aangeraak is]
Dit het vir my snaaks gevoel.
[Pouse]
Terwyl dit besig was om te gebeur, het ek gedink:
miskien sal hy my nou verlaat
as ek dit klaar gedoen het.
Ek het gedink omdat ek nou seks het met hom sal
hy sleg dink van my.
Ek het die hele tyd skuldig gevoel toe dit gebeur het.

*dispute van
seks herhaal*

Interviews, however, suggested that respondents' initial non-enjoyment of sex eventually dissipated. They continued to have regular sexual contact with their partners after the first encounter, stating an improvement in quality of the sexual experience as the element of pain was eliminated. Respondents now knew what to expect from sexual interaction between themselves and their partners, and they could adequately prepare and orientate themselves for the experience. They also had time to think about what they had done and realistically evaluate the experience. These young girls came to the conclusion that even though things turned out differently than they intended in the sex department, resigning to the irreversibility

of the situation and adapting to it was all that they could do.

Mandy:

Dit was baie beter as die eerste keer wat ek
seks gehet het.

Dit was nie meer so seer nie,
en ek het ook nie meer so skuldig gevoel nie.
Dit was vir my baie meer lekkerder gewees.

Vanessa:

Ag, dinge het beter geraak.
Ek het seker maar so met die tyd gewoon
beginne raak aan die idee dat ek seks gehad het.
Ek het dit nou gedoen
... en dit was nou te laat om dinge anders te wil maak
[Effense pouse]
[Trek skouers in 'n *matter-of-fact*-manier op]
En ons het toe nou na daai eerste keer gereeld weer
seks gehad.

Abby:

Ons het gereeld daarna weer gemeenskap gehad
En dit het vir my al hoe beter geraak ...
Ons het toe ook nie meer elke keer kondome gebruik
as ons seks gehad het nie;
want ons het nie altyd kondome by ons gehad nie.
Ek geniet die seks nou baie meer as aan die begin ..."

Suzette:

Die seks het ook al hoe beter geraak.
Die tweede keer was net soos die eerste keer,
maar ek het ten minste geweet wat kom.
Maar van die derde keer af was dit oraaits gewees.

NB

The development and maintenance of a sexual relationship between respondents and their partners gives a clearer understanding of traditional gender roles culturally subscribed to. In conversation with respondents it became apparent that they generally viewed men as sexual predators and women as sexual providers. Men were perceived to be more sexually orientated

than women; created to want sex and as such socially sanctioned to act on their impulses. Being more relationship orientated, women were on the other hand created to provide sex and manage the process with responsibility. This was indeed the natural order of things. Respondents thus believed that it was their responsibility to keep their male partners happy and satisfied. They had an obligation to prove their devotion to their partners in an active, not merely verbal, way. And this meant giving them sex when they insisted on it.

Mandy:

Ek sou sê dit is vir mans baie belangriker om seks
te het as vir vroumense.
Mans is lyk my baie meer lus vir seks
en vroumense moet dit vir hulle gee
as hulle lief is vir die ou.
Dit is seker maar
'n vrou se plek om dit te doen ...

Jenny:

Dit kom voor
- hier by ons nou –
asof die ouens meer ingestel is op seks,
asof hulle anders geleer word oor seks
en nie vertel word dat hulle moet wag of so nie.
Soos in my en my kêrel se geval nou,
was seks definitief vir hom belangriker
vir ons verhouding as wat dit vir my was.

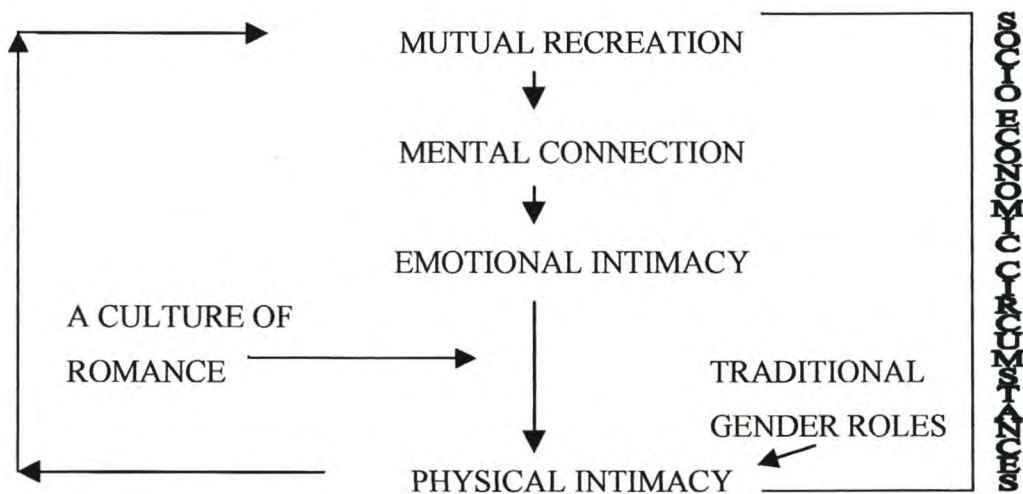
Finally, analysis of interviews suggested that sexual intimacy became essential for relationship preservation. Becoming sexual was indeed a major stepping stone for couples and they now did not know how to relate with each other without it. Respondents knew that the only way by which to hang on to the heterosexual relationships that came to provide them with so much meaning in life, was to continue having sex with their partners. It was almost as if they had reached a point of no return in their relationships. Sex became the enabling force that kept things going.

Abby:

Ek is baie bly ek het dit gedoen (seks gehad).
Want dit gaan goed met ons verhouding.

In accordance with what literature has come to reveal about the female adolescent's sexual experience, interviews have affirmed that young women participating in the current study linked physical interaction with emotional involvement (Carpenter, 1998; Lees, 1986; Thompson, 1995; Tolman, 1994). They enjoyed intimate contact with their partners in so far as it was an expression of emotional closeness and deepened their affection for one another. Sex was not pursued for the deed in itself, but for its inherent potential to strengthen the relationship.

Conclusively, interview data can be summarised in the following representation of coloured female adolescent heterosexual context:



As this figure attempts to illustrate, interview respondents participating in the current research study experienced their heterosexual relationships as complex, multi-faceted, rich involvements. They indicated that these relationships started out as recreational interactions, but later developed into a compounding emotional connection and ultimately a source of emotional intimacy, from which physical/sexual closeness naturally evolved. Encouraged by cultural notions of romance and traditional gender roles, this physical intimacy subsequently became a pivotal link in relationship maintenance – which indeed proved to be an all-important objective for respondents in light of their working class socio-economic circumstances. Their heterosexual relationships seemed to provide these young girls with a sense of security and meaning in a life otherwise filled with hardship and chaos.

(NB)

Ultimately, interview data revealed heterosexual context to be a primary determinant of coloured female adolescent sexual risk-taking behaviour. The young women participating in

this study proved to practise sexual intercourse in subordination to a higher value, that of a close interpersonal relationship, thus replacing the ancient virtue of chastity with that of fidelity. They found a sense of purpose in their involvement with their heterosexual partners that transcended mere developmental needs for intimacy and belonging, and was rooted in socio-economic powerlessness.

8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS; RECOMMENDATIONS; AND CRITICAL REVIEW

8.1 Summary and conclusions

The current research study attempted to improve upon our understanding of coloured female adolescents' sexual risk-taking behaviour, by exploring the intimate heterosexual context of a group of coloured pregnant individuals from the Stellenbosch area. Prior research indicate the importance of moving beyond the individual decisionmaker to also focus on contextual realities, such as the heterosexual relationship, when conducting sexuality research. It was found that the majority of respondents participating in the current research study were involved in long term, monogamous relationships with their partners. These relationships mostly developed from recreational, peer group oriented interactions, to friendships, to emotional and ultimately sexual involvements. They tended to be based upon a firm foundation of friendship and trust. They were not merely an enjoyable distraction and passtime in respondents' lives, but a source of meaning and existential significance. With working class socio-economic circumstances very likely clouding their everyday existence as well as their hopes for the future, these young girls became completely immersed in the sense of fulfilment their heterosexual involvements offered them. And it is in this context that sexual risk-taking behaviour became a reality.

Research data indicated that sex was mostly not deliberated upon by respondents, but evolved from a sense of emotional intimacy with their partners. Incited by a strong cultural heritage of romantic sacrifice and female sexual submissiveness, respondents had sexual intercourse with their partners as a manifestation of the emotionally significant, monogamous relationship they shared. These young women constructed sex in relational terms, never engaging in it as a physical deed, significant in itself, but always as an expression and consolidation of the intimacy they shared with their partners. For the coloured female adolescent sex thus proved to be qualified by relationship as opposed to relationship being qualified by sex. This phenomenon has inevitable implications for reproductive health interventions aimed at the coloured female adolescent population, the nature of which will subsequently be deliberated upon.

Primarily, the current study has served to stress the important influence of heterosexual context upon the sexual behaviour of coloured female adolescents, and the importance of improving upon our understanding of this context if reproductive health interventions are to

be by any means relevant and significant. Even though this research has provided valuable insights into the nature and dynamics of the coloured female adolescent heterosexual relationship, it has merely succeeded in providing a drop in the bucket, and in highlighting the enormous complexity of this contextual reality. With a paucity of existing literature substantiating the findings obtained and expanding upon them, there is a definite need for extensive further research regarding the intricacies of the coloured female adolescent heterosexual relationship as basis for appropriate reproductive health interventions. We need to understand more fully, before we can act more effectively.

8.2 Recommendations

In response to the preliminary findings obtained from the current study, I would, however, like to proceed in deliberating upon a few basic recommendations regarding reproductive health interventions for the coloured female adolescent population of Stellenbosch. Primarily, I propose programs which actively involve male and female participants. Current research data revealed that coloured female adolescent sexual behaviour is mostly not shaped by personal knowledge or intention, but by the nuances of dyadical interactions with a steady, emotionally intimate heterosexual partner. It would be unrealistic to continue focussing interventions on an individual decisionmaker who determines her behaviour alone. Adolescent sex education efforts at clinics and schools need to shift its attention away from gender segregated sex education which rely on abstractions regarding heterosexual relationship dynamics, and merely serve to shroud it in an aura of mystery. Heterosexual interactions need to be brought into the classroom, thus providing a hands on teaching and learning experience for everyone involved, and actively empowering the adolescent in directing the course her intimate relationships take. Even though the practicalities of such an approach would have to be guided by further research efforts, I suggest the incorporation of experimental methods of interaction, such as roleplay. Through these techniques adolescents would not only be able to explore the sexual beliefs and experiences of the opposite sex in feigned heterosexual interactions, but be in a position where they could sample sexual negotiation strategies for future reference. Such an approach would be constructive and empowering, while contending with cultural realities.

I am, however, of the opinion that gender integrated sex education as outlined above, would not be sufficient to effectively address the problem of sexual risk-taking behaviour within the coloured community of Stellenbosch. We need to take a broader perspective and not merely react symptomatically to the coloured female adolescent's construction of sex as relationship,

but challenge it. We need to empower coloured girls sexually, by recognising women's own experiences of desire /agency and by encouraging expression thereof. As sexuality has proven to be a product of social construction, I would argue that sex education needs to be treated holistically if it intends to interfere with this process. Rather than being restricted to a particular period in a person's life, it would have to be ongoing, in keeping with the way sexual behaviour and needs unfold during a person's lifetime. I thus suggest sex education from preschool onwards – education that continually provides children with information and options adding to the narrow construction of sexuality bestowed on them by their socio-cultural environment.

We do, however, need to keep in mind that the coloured female adolescent's narrow, relational construction of sex is backdropped by working class socio-economic circumstances and limited prospects for personal development. As research data revealed, respondents found a source of existential significance in their heterosexual relationships which guided their interactions with their partners and influenced their sexual risk-taking behaviour. For this reason, I advocate that sexual behaviour not be treated as an isolated phenomenon, but that sex education be embedded within a life-skills approach. Life-skills may be defined as the personal skills needed by each individual to act in a creative manner in all areas of life experience, such as learning, work and play, personal and social development, and interpersonal relationships. A life-skills approach would focus on equipping adolescents with a thorough knowledge of the options available to them, the consequences of choosing any one of these options, a sense of self-esteem stemming from clarified values and the skills needed to put chosen options into practice.

Finally, it is evident that reproductive health intervention should never be an end in itself, but always a means to an end. We can no longer blindly sex educate merely for the sake of doing so. We need to sex educate in confrontation of very real problems of AIDS/STD'S/ premature pregnancy, and in driven pursuit of sexual behaviour change. Focussed upon the coloured female adolescent population of Stellenbosch, the current research effort has proved to reveal that considerably more time, resources and commitment are needed in order to find creative solutions that work within this community. What seems certain, however, is that no attempt at intervention is likely to succeed that does not take thorough cognisance of contextual influence upon individual behaviour. Reproductive health interventions need to be conducted within an atmosphere of acceptance and understanding for the young coloured female in her unique socio-cultural circumstances. They need to meet her where she is at

sexually, and equip her with the appropriate knowledge and skills to manage her heterosexual relationships, specifically, but also her life in general, effectively. As Ryna summarises:

Hulle (mense wat programme en so aanbied) moet daar wees vir die jongmense
en hulle moet obviously iemand wees met wie jy gemaklik sal voel om
saam mee te gesels ...
Hulle moet nie negatief wees'ie
en 'n mens laat sleg voel oor jy seks het nie.
Hulle moet die jongmense verstaan
en hulle nie veroordeel nie,
anders sal niemand hulle mos vertrou
en met hulle gaat gesels'ie.
Dis al klaar moeilik genoeg om oor seks te gesels ...

8.3 Critical review

Finally, I would like to stress to the reader that the interpretations offered within this document are co-constructions of meaning evolving from interaction between myself and the respondents, and that understanding of these interpretations could not occur in isolation of an understanding of the research personas in question. In accordance with the demands of social constructionism, I am thus obliged to conclude the current research process by reflecting upon my own contribution to it.

Primarily, I need to acknowledge the unmistakable influence of cultural bias upon the research process. Even though I was acutely aware of cultural differences between myself and the respondents, and consciously strove to lay myself bare to their own meaning-making, I continually found myself projecting certain values upon them from the basis of my own Western middle-class background. My supervisor, e.g., recurrently had to make me aware that I described respondents as deprived and underprivileged, when they were indeed working class individuals who functioned quite adequately within their own community. Being pregnant myself at the time of meeting with respondents, I furthermore often found myself projecting my own experiences of vulnerability onto them and sympathising with their “less fortunate” circumstances. I indeed had to learn that being raised within an apartheid system, and receiving training as a social worker within such a system, subtly led me to also institutionalise coloured people as poor and lower-class. In this vein, it could thus be expected that my presence would influence the meaning respondents attached to their heterosexual relationships. Functioning as a health professional within a health professions institution, and

being white and pregnant at that, could have caused these young women to feel threatened and unterritorially exposed, subsequently resulting in them telling me what they thought I wanted to hear.

In addition to the issue of culture, issues of conceptual and methodological bias however also need to be acknowledged. Whilst documenting research interpretations, I was recurrently faced with the fact that I left many concepts and themes unexplored, based upon my own ideas about what they meant, or based upon my own opinions regarding the usefulness and importance of such information. I, e.g., made no attempt to explore respondents' constructions of the concept "love", spontaneously reverting to my own meaning-making in this regard. I also neglected to tape any pre-interview discussions with the respondents, which later appeared to be integral to an understanding of interview contents. Furthermore, I found myself locked in a continuous struggle to make the transition from a professionally instilled quantitative school of thought to a social constructionist frame of mind. Even though fully subscribing to social constructionist premises, I found it difficult to make the transition to practical implementation of these principles, and often found myself speaking in a quantitative voice.

Upon conclusion, I would thus have to acknowledge that I brought certain limitations to the current study, but it is hoped that by defining them, they could be addressed and improved upon in further research efforts.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1

VRAELYS

KODENOMMER :

OPNAME VAN SEKSUELE GEDRAG

Die volgende paar bladsye bevat vrae wat ondersoek instel na jou seksuele geskiedenis. Lees asseblief elke vraag versigtig deur en beantwoord dit so eerlik as wat jy kan. Wanneer jy 'n keuse van antwoorde kry, omkring die letter(s) wat jou die beste pas. Alle inligting wat jy gee sal streng vertroulik hanteer word.

1. Hoe oud was jy toe jy vir die eerste keer uitgevind het wat seks is ?

.....

2. Hoe het jy uitgevind wat seks is ? (WEES SPESIFIEK)

.....
.....

3. Het jy geleer dat seks
a) net vir die huwelik bedoel is
b) deel mag wees van enige vaste romantiese verhouding
c) gebeur wanneer jy verlief is op iemand
d) 'n normale begeerte is en enige tyd met enige man kan plaasvind.

4. Wanneer het jy vir die eerste keer verlief geraak op 'n kêrel ?

.....

5. Hoe oud was jy toe jy die eerste keer intieme fisiese kontak (nie noodwendig seks nie) met 'n man gehad het ?

.....

6. **Konfidensialiteit :** Dit mag wees dat jy in die volgende vraag sensitiewe inligting moet verskaf. Ek wil jou net weer daarvan verseker dat ek alles in my vermoë sal doen om hierdie inligting vertroulik te hanteer. Ek moet jou egter ook daaraan herinner dat ek verplig sal wees om die nodige stappe te neem, as dit onder my aandag kom dat jy binne jou gesin in gevaar verkeer of benadeel word.

Beskryf wat gebeur het.

.....
.....
.....

7. Watter tipe verhouding het jy en hierdie persoon met mekaar gehad ?
.....
.....
8. Met hoeveel mans (indien enige) het jy daarna intieme fisiese kontak gehad sonder om seks te hê ? Indien geen , gaan na vraag 10.
.....
.....
9. Hoe het jy en hierdie persoon/persone fisiese omgang gehad ? (bv. hande vashou, soen, ens.)
.....
.....
.....
10. Hoe oud was jy toe jy vir die eerste keer seks gehad het ?
.....
.....
11. Beskryf watter soort verhouding jy met hierdie persoon gehad het ?
.....
.....
12. **Konfidensialiteit :** Dit mag wees dat jy in die volgende vraag sensitiewe inligting moet verskaf. Ek wil jou net weer daarvan verseker dat ek alles in my vermoë sal doen om hierdie inligting vertroulik te hanteer. Ek moet jou egter ook daaraan herinner dat ek verplig sal wees om die nodige stappe te neem , as dit onder my aandag kom dat jy binne jou gesin in gevaar verkeer of benadeel word.
- Het jy toestemming gegee om seks te hê met hom ?
a) Ja
b) Nee(VERDUIDELIK).....
.....
13. Het julle daarna weer seks gehad , of het dit net hierdie een keer gebeur ?
a) Net een keer
b) Meer as een keer (SPESIFISEER HOEVEEL KEER ONGEVEER)
14. Met hoeveel ander persone het jy daarna seks gehad ? Indien geen , gaan na vraag 18.
.....
.....

15. Watter soort verhouding het jy gehad met elkeen van hierdie persone ?

PERSONE (gee net nommer)	SOORT VERHOUDING

16. **Konfidensialiteit** : Dit mag wees dat jy in die volgende vraag sensitiewe inligting moet verskaf. Ek wil jou net weer daarvan verseker dat ek alles in my vermoë sal doen om hierdie inligting vertroulik te hanteer. Ek moet jou egter ook daaraan herinner dat ek verplig sal wees om die nodige stappe te neem , as dit onder my aandag kom dat jy binne jou gesin in gevaar verkeer of benadeel word.

Was seks met hierdie persone vrywillig ? Indien dit nie vrywillig was nie , verduidelik.

PERSOON (gee net nommer)	VRYWILLIG (merk met 'n X)	NIE VRYWILLIG (merk met 'n X en VERDUIDELIK)

17. Hoe gereeld het jy seks gehad met elkeen van hierdie persone ? Was dit een keer of meer as een keer ? Indien dit meer as een keer was , sê hoeveel keer dit ongeveer gebeur het.

PERSOON (gee net nommer)	EEN KEER (merk met 'n X)	MEER AS EEN KEER (merk met 'n X en SPESIFISEER)

18. Is jy al ooit ingelig oor voorbehoedmiddels en die redes waarom dit gebruik moet word ?
a) Ja
b) Nee
19. Watter inligting het jy oor voorbehoedmiddels gekry ?
.....
.....
20. Waar het jy hierdie inligting gekry ?
.....
21. Van watter voorbehoedmiddels het jy al gehoor ?
.....
.....
.....
22. Watter van hierdie middels is in jou opinie die beste om te gebruik ?
.....
23. Waarom sê jy so ?
.....
24. Het jy al ooit self enige voorbehoedmiddels gebruik ?
a) Ja
b) Nee (VERDUIDELIK HOEKOM NIE EN GAAN DAN NA VRAAG 28)
.....
25. Watter voorbehoedmiddels het jy al gebruik ?
.....
.....
26. Hoe het jy hierdie middels gebruik ?
.....
.....
27. Waar het jy dit gekry ?
.....

PERSOONLIKE GEGEWENS : (Hierdie inligting is slegs vir die navorser se
aandag en sal vir klassifiseringsdoeleindes
gebruik word.)

28. Hoe oud is jy ?
.....

29. Wat is die hoogste standerd wat jy op skool geslaag het ?
.....

30. Woon jy tans nog skool by ?
.....

31. Hoeveel persone is daar in jou huishouding ? Vertel asseblief vir my wat
elkeen van hulle se geslag , ouderdom , hoogste opvoedkundige kwalifikasie
en verwantskap aan jou (bv. pa , suster , ens.) is.

Totale aantal persone :	

GESLAG	OUDERDOM	HOOGSTE OPVOEDKUNDIGE KWALIFIKASIE	VERWANTSKAP

32. Hoeveel persone in jou huishouding verdien geld of het ‘n persoonlike
inkomste ?
.....

33. Watter tipe werk doen elkeen van hierdie persone ?
.....
.....
.....

34. Wat is julle totale huishoudelike inkomste ?
a) Tot R 500
b) R 500 - R 1000
c) R 1000 - R3000
d) R 3000 - R5000
e) R 5000 +
35. Hoe voel jou ouers oor die feit dat jy swanger is ?
.....
36. Gaan jy die baba
a) hou en self grootmaak
b) hou en deur jou ouers of 'n ander familielid laat grootmaak
(VERDUIDELIK)
c) vir aanneming opgee
d) laat verwyder deur 'n aborsie
e) ander (VERDUIDELIK)
37. Verduidelik wat jy beplan om na die geboorte van jou baba te doen (bv. terug skool toe te gaan , werk , ens.)
.....
38. Watter geldelike ondersteuning kry jy op die oomblik van die pa van jou baba?
.....
39. Watter geldelike ondersteuning dink jy sal jy in die toekoms van hom kry ?
.....
40. Watter ander ondersteuning gee hy op die oomblik vir jou ?
.....
41. Watter ander ondersteuning dink jy sal jy in die toekoms van hom kry ?
.....
42. Hoe oud is hy ?
.....
43. Sal jy bereid wees om 'n onderhoud by te woon waarin jy verder uitgevra word oor jou seksuele gedrag ?
a) Ja
b) Nee

BAIE DANKIE VIR JOU DEELNAME !

APPENDIX 2

TOESTEMMINGSVORM VIR VRAELYS

Universiteit van Stellenbosch: Tiener Seksualiteit Projek

Liewe Deelnemer,

Die Sielkunde Departement van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch doen op die oomblik navorsing om seksopvoedingsprogramme vir tieners in die gemeenskap te verbeter. Ons vra tieners in die Stellenbosch area uit oor hulle seksuele ervarings om seker te maak dat seksopvoedingsprogramme in die toekoms hulle behoeftes sal aanspreek. Jou opinie sal dus vir ons baie waardevol wees.

As jy bereid sal wees om aan die projek deel te neem, sal daar van jou verwag word om 'n vraelys in te vul waarin jy belangrike inligting oor jou eie seksuele ervarings verskaf. Jy sal die vraelys in privaatheid invul en jy hoef nie jou naam daarop te skryf nie. Moet dus nie bekommerd wees dat enige van die inligting wat jy gee na jou sal terugwys nie. Die vraelys sal afgeneem word by die voorgeboorte kliniek waarheen jy vir gereelde opvolgbesoeke kom.

Om te verseker dat al die inligting wat jy verskaf vertroulik is, sal jou naam nooit op die vraelys genoem word nie. Jy sal 'n nommer kry om op jou voltooië vraelys te skryf. Die navorser sal dan 'n lys hou wat aandui watter deelnemers met watter nommers ooreenstem. Net die navorser sal toegang hê tot hierdie lys en sy sal dit saam met die voltooië vraelyste van deelnemers in veilige bewaring hou. Wanneer die resultate van die studie bekend gemaak word, sal geen regte name ook daarin genoem word nie. Beskrywings van deelnemers sal so gedoen word dat hulle nie herkenbaar sal wees nie.

Alhoewel die navorser alles in haar vermoë sal doen om inligting wat jy aan haar gee vertroulik te hanteer, sal sy egter in sekere situasies verplig wees om hierdie vertroulikheid te verbreek. As dit onder haar aandag kom dat jy binne jou gesin in gevaar verkeer of benadeel word, sal die navorser verplig wees om dit met jou te bespreek, saam met jou op 'n plan van aksie te besluit, en die nodige stappe te neem. Jy is welkom om enige vrae wat jy hieroor mag hê met haar te bespreek. Dit mag ook gebeur dat jy gedurende die loop van die navorsing pynlike herinneringe beleef, wat jy graag met iemand wil bespreek en deurwerk. In so 'n geval sal die navorser jou in kontak bring met iemand wat jou kan help. Jy kan ook Stellenbosch Hospitaal se voorligtingdiens by tel. 8877913 skakel as jy dit sou verkies.

Ten slotte moet jy besef dat jy jouself enige tyd aan die navorsingstudie mag onttrek vir enige rede. Indien jy jou deelname aan die studie beëindig, mag jy vra dat alle inligting wat jy verskaf het, vernietig moet word.

Indien jy bereid sou wees om aan die navorsingstudie deel te neem, lees asseblief die volgende verklaring versigtig deur en onderteken dit :

Ek verklaar hiermee dat die navorser my deeglik ingelig het oor die doel van die projek en hoe ek daarby betrokke sal wees. Ek is bewus van die risiko's wat dit vir my inhou, maar weet dat ek enige tyd vry is om probleme wat ek mag hê met die navorser te bespreek. As ek dit sou verkies, kan ek myself ook dadelik van die navorsing onttrek. Ek stem dus hiermee vrywillig in om deel te neem aan die studie.

Geteken te op19.....

.....
Handtekening van deelnemer

APPENDIX 3

Suid-Afrikaanse Raad vir Maatskaplike Werk



Registrasiesertifikaat

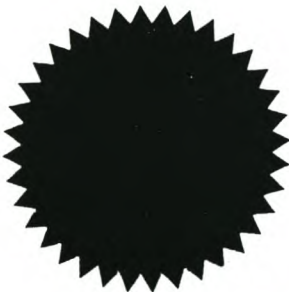
Hierby word gesertifiseer dat die naam van

CATHERIN-ANN LOUW

*ingevolge art 19(1) van die Wet op Maatskaplike Werk, 1978,
in die Register ingeskryf is, en dat genoemde persoon aldus
ooreenkomstig art 17(1) van die Wet as 'n*

Maatskaplike Werker

by die Raad geregistreer is



10-15664

Registrasienommer

Nf Bosh

President

Joubert

Registrateur

11 JANUARIE 1994

Registrasiedatum

*Die geldigheid van hierdie sertifikaat na 31 Maart is onderworpe aan die voorlegging van 'n kwitansie wat aandui
dat die jaargeld vir die lopende boekjaar wat jaarliks op 31 Maart eindig, betaal is.*

*Indien die naam van die houer van hierdie sertifikaat uit die Register geskrap is, sal hierdie sertifikaat ingevolge
regulasie 4(2) geag word ingetrek te wees vanaf die datum van skrapping*

**DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE GENEESKUNDIGE
EN TANDHEELKUNDIGE RAAD**
THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDICAL AND DENTAL COUNCIL

BEROEPSRAAD VIR
SIELKUNDE



PROFESSIONAL BOARD FOR
PSYCHOLOGY

SERTIFIKAAT VAN REGISTRASIE

CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION

KATEGORIE - CATEGORY

Clinical Psychology - Kliniese Sielkunde

VAN
SURNAME

BURGER

NAME
NAMES

CATHERIN - ANN

GEREGISTREER AS
REGISTERED AS

INTERN-SIELKUNDIGE

DATUM VAN REGISTRASIE
DATE OF REGISTRATION

13.12.1996

REGISTRASIENOMMER
REGISTRATION NUMBER

PSIN 0054828

HIERBY WORD GESERTIFISEER DAT DIE BOGE-
MELDE PERSOON GEREGISTREER IS SOOS AAN-
GEDUI INGEVOLGE DIE WET OP GENEESHERE,
TANDARTSE EN AANVULLENDE GESONDHEIDS-
DIENSBEROEPE, 1974 (WET 56 VAN 1974) EN
HIERBY GEMAGTIG WORD OM AS SODANIG OP-
LEIDING TE ONDERGAAN IN HOSPITAAL OF
INRIGTING WAT DEUR DIE RAAD VIR HIERDIE
DOEL ERKEN WORD.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE PERSON
HAS BEEN REGISTERED AS INDICATED IN TERMS
OF THE MEDICAL, DENTAL AND SUPPLEMENTARY
HEALTH SERVICE PROFESSIONS ACT, 1974 (ACT
56 OF 1974) AND IS HEREBY AUTHORISED TO
UNDERGO TRAINING AS SUCH IN A HOSPITAL
OR INSTITUTION RECOGNISED BY THE COUNCIL
FOR THIS PURPOSE

N M PRINSLOO
REGISTRATEUR • REGISTRAR
PRETORIA

APPENDIX 4

TOESTEMMINGSVORM VIR ONDERHOUD

Universiteit van Stellenbosch: Tiener Seksualiteit Projek

Liewe Deelnemer,

Soos voorheen aan jou verduidelik, doen die Sielkunde Departement van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch op die oomblik navorsing om seksopvoedingsprogramme vir tieners in die gemeenskap te verbeter. Ons vra tieners in die Stellenbosch area uit oor hulle seksuele ervarings om seker te maak dat seksopvoedingsprogramme in die toekoms hulle behoeftes sal aanspreek. Jy het reeds 'n baie waardevolle bydrae gelewer tot die projek deur 'n vraelys in te vul waarin jy belangrike inligting oor jou eie seksuele geskiedenis verskaf het. In die vraelys het jy ook aangedui dat jy op 'n latere stadium bereid sou wees om aan 'n onderhoud deel te neem.

Tydens die onderhoud sal jy uitgevra word oor jou verhouding met die pa van jou ongebore baba. Daar sal baie spesifiek gekonsentreer word op julle sekslewe. Die onderhoud, wat in 'n private omgewing sal plaasvind, sal ongeveer 40 minute lank wees en op kassetband opgeneem word. 'n Vrou sal die onderhoud met jou voer. Sy is 'n geregistreerde maatskaplike werker en intern kliniese sielkundige. Net soos die vraelys, sal die onderhoud afgeneem word by die voorgeboorte kliniek waarheen jy vir gereelde opvolgbesoeke kom. Indien dit vir jou prakties moeilik sou wees om die navorser weer by die kliniek te ontmoet, sou die onderhoud egter, met jou toestemming, by jou huis kon plaasvind.

Om te verseker dat al die inligting wat jy verskaf vertroulik is, kan jy 'n skuilnaam kies om in gesprekke met die navorser te gebruik. Hierdie naam sal ook op die navorser se lys met vraelys nommers aangebring word. Net die navorser sal toegang hê tot hierdie lys en sy sal dit saam met die voltooië vraelyste, kassetbande en notas van onderhoude in veilige bewaring hou. Wanneer die resultate van die studie bekend gemaak word, sal geen regte name ook daarin genoem word nie. Beskrywings van deelnemers sal so gedoen word dat hulle nie herkenbaar sal wees nie.

Weereens wil ek dit aan jou beklemtoon dat alhoewel die navorser alles in haar vermoë sal doen om inligting wat jy aan haar gee vertroulik te hanteer, sy in sekere situasies verplig sal wees om hierdie vertroulikheid te verbreek. As dit onder haar aandag kom dat jy binne jou gesin in gevaar verkeer of benadeel word, sal die navorser verplig wees om dit met jou te bespreek, saam met jou op 'n plan van aksie te besluit, en die nodige stappe te neem. Jy is welkom om enige vrae wat jy hieroor mag hê met haar te bespreek. Dit mag ook gebeur dat jy gedurende die loop van die navorsing pynlike herinneringe beleef, wat jy graag met iemand wil bespreek en deurwerk. In so 'n geval sal die navorser jou in kontak bring met iemand wat jou kan help. Jy kan ook Stellenbosch Hospitaal se voorligtingdiens by tel. 8877913 skakel as jy dit sou verkies.

Ten slotte moet jy besef dat jy jouself enige tyd aan die navorsingstudie mag onttrek vir enige rede. Indien jy jou deelname aan die studie beëindig, mag jy vra dat alle inligting wat jy verskaf het, vernietig moet word.

Indien jy bereid sou wees om verder aan die navorsingstudie deel te neem, lees asseblief die volgende verklaring versigtig deur en onderteken dit :

Ek verklaar hiermee dat die navorser my deeglik ingelig het oor die doel van die projek en hoe ek daarby betrokke sal wees. Ek is bewus van die risiko's wat dit vir my inhou, maar weet dat ek enige tyd vry is om probleme wat ek mag hê met die navorser te bespreek. As ek dit sou verkies, kan ek myself ook dadelik van die navorsing onttrek. Ek stem dus hiermee vrywillig in om deel te neem aan die studie.

Geteken te op19.....

.....
Handtekening van deelnemer

APPENDIX 5

ONDERHOUD SKEDULE

Tydens die onderhoud sal daar gefokus word op 'n gedetailleerde beskrywing deur die swanger adolossent van die eerste geleentheid wat sy seksueel met die vader van haar baba verkeer het.

1. Aanvanklik sal sy gevra word om in storie-formaat die presiese gebeure van daardie dag/aand weer te gee.
- Die volgende aspekte sal deur die loop van die vertelling deur middel van polsing verder ondersoek word:
2. Fisiese ervaring van die respondent tydens interaksie met haar maat (voor, tydens en na seks).
3. Emosionele ervaring van die respondent tydens interaksie met haar maat (voor, tydens en na seks).
4. Gedagtes rondom naderende seksuele interaksie tussen die respondent en haar maat.
 - In watter mate het sosialiseringssagente soos ouers, portuurs en die media haar gedagtes beïnvloed?
 - In watter mate het tradisionele geslagsrolle ter sprake gekom? Hoe beskou die respondent mans en hoe konstrueer sy haar seksualiteit in verhouding tot mans?
 - Is voorbehoedmiddels ooit oorweeg?
5. Watter gedagtes, indien enige, het tydens seks by die respondent opgekom?
6. Hoe het die respondent na seksuele interaksie met haar maat oor die gebeure gedink?

APPENDIX 6

ONDERHOUD 1 : Kodenommer 13

Onderhoudvoerder: Cathy Burger (O)

Respondent: Mandy (R)

- O: Vertel vir my in jou eie woorde die storie van jou heel eerste seksuele ervaring. Ek gaan nie vir jou 'n klomp vrae vra daaroor nie ... ek wil net hê jy moet in jou eie woorde vir my vertel wat daardie dag gebeur het ... asof jy vir my 'n "movie" wys van die eerste keer wat jy seks gehad het. Daar is nie 'n regte of 'n verkeerde manier om jou storie te vertel nie ... vertel net vir my op enige manier wat vir jou gemaklik is.
- R: Hy is van Stellenbosch ... die outjie met wie ek die eerste seks gehet het ... maar hy bly eintlik in die dal.
Dit was oor 'n naweek gewees.
Ons was nou al ons vriende
het nou saam met mekaar geloop ... soos in die pad - die Devonvale pad.
Dan was ons nou 'n couple,
elkeen het nou sy boyfriend gehad.
Toe het ons nou die hele dag op en af geloop
en so nou begin te klaarmaak
en elkeen het uit mekaar uit gespat en so.
[Pouse. Kyk skaam af]
- O: Wat het toe gebeur?
- R: Daar was somer so 'n veldjie ...
ons het daar gaan sit.
[Stilte]
- O: En toe?
- R: Ons het begin om oor ons verhouding te gesels.
Ons het toe nou ook begin te praat oor seks en so...
Hy het begin praat daaroor...
- O: Wat het julle alles met mekaar gesels oor seks?
- R: Soos ons sal nou graag ook wou beplan om 'n babatjie te hê.
Maar toe het hy nou gesê
ek moet net wag 'n tydjie totdat hy nou sy 21 klaar maak
en dan kan ons nou beplan vir 'n babatjie.
[Lang stilte. Dink versigtig na oor wat om volgende te sê]
Hy het gesê hy sal graag likes om saam met my seks te hê.

Toe sê ek, ek sal dit ook likes om saam met hom seks te hê
-soos ek nou hoor het baie meisiekinders al seks gehet al...
Maar ek het eintlik nie geweet van seks nie.
Ek het maar net gehoor hoe praat die mense van seks...
Hy het vir my gesê
seks is nou eintlik bedoel vir grootmense;
dit is nie bedoel vir kindertjies en so nie.

O: Het julle ooit oor voorbehoedmiddels gepraat?

R: Nee. ...
Toe ek hier kom bly het,
toe het ek nou eers gehoor van die mense wat die inspuiting gebruik en so.
Maar daar was 'n suster wat ek ook mee gewerk het.
Sy het altyd na my toe gekom
en dan het sy nou vir my gesê ek moet die inspuiting en so gebruik;
maar my ma wou niks gehet het nie.
My ma sê 'n inspuiting mors 'n mens se baarmoeder op.
[Praat met dringendheid in stem]

O: Wat het volgende tussen jou en jou outjie gebeur?

R: Toe het ons nou begin te vry en so.
Dit was nogals lekker gewees.
Terwyl ons vry het hy gesê
hy is baie lief vir my en so.
Hy het gesê hy sal altyd na my toe kom
en vir my beskerm
en ons twee is reg vir mekaar en so.
[Kyk in die verte in en dink diep na voordat praat]
Ek was nogals baie lief vir hom gewees.

O: En toe?

R: En toe het ons ook nou aangegaan om dit te doen.
[Lag skaam en draai kop weer weg van onderhoudvoerder]
... Ek het nie geweet ons gaan seks hê toe ons begin vry het nie.
Ek het regtig nie gedink dit gaan gebeur nie
... dit het net gebeur.

O: Hoe was die seks vir jou?

R: Dit was nogals nie so lekker gewees nie.
Ek het eintlik nie reg gevoel daaroor nie.
Ek het, hoe sê 'n mens,
ek het eintlik nie lekker gevoel nie;

soos nou op die oomblik
is ek baie spyt ek het vroeg begin.
... Hy is eintlik die regte tipe ou vir my,
maar ek het nogals nie gevoel om so vroeg te begin nie.

O: Hoekom nie?

R: Ag, ek sou graag nog wou skool toe gaan en so ...
maar nou kan ek nie meer nie.
[Kyk af en raak stil]

O: Hoekom was jy nog spyt dat jy so vroeg seks gehad het?

R: Dit was nogals, dit was nou meer pyn gewees
omdat dit die eerste keer was.
Ek kon dit nie regtig geniet
omdat dit so seer was nie.
[Peinsend]
Ek was seker maar disappointed in seks
- dit was baie anders as wat ek gedink het dit sal wees.
Ek het gedink, "Is dit nou waarom almal so 'n groot bohaai maak?"
[Lang pouse. Praat uiteindelik terwyl af kyk]
Ek het ook die heel tyd skuldig gevoel.

O: Hoe so?

R: Ek weet nie.
Dit het net nie vir my reg gevoel nie.

O: Wat het gemaak dat jy in elk geval met jou outjie seks gehad het, al wou jy nie regtig nie?

R: Omdat hy het gesê hy is baie lief vir my
en hy wou my nie gelos het en so nie.
Ek was seker maar bang
dat hy my gaan los
en daarom het ek gepressure gevoel om met hom seks te het.
Maar terwyl ons seks gehet het, het ek weer gedink,
"Ons twee het nou seks, soos in nou het ons seks, nou môre nou worry hy nie
meer oor my nie;
ek is goedkoop nou.
[Pouse]
Daarom het ek nogals nie lekker gevoel toe hy op die ou einde vir my nefie
daarvan vertel het nie.
Want dit moes nie tussen ons gebeur het nie.
En wat dink hulle nou van my?

O: Hulle?

- R: Ja. My nefie het nou weer vir my niggie vertel,
en toe het hy en sy nou weer vir sy meisie vertel.
Soos ek en my nefie se meisie is beste vriende,
en sy het nou weer vir my daarvan kom vertel.
[Stilte]
- O: Hoe het dinge tussen jou en jou outjie toe op die ou einde uitgewerk?
- R: Ons het nie eintlik gereeld daarna weer gemeenskap gehad nie,
want ek was ook op 'n ander plek gewees
- net as ek nou naweke huis toe kom
en as ek nou miskien deurgaen
en ons begin nou weer te vry en so.
... Dit was nou 'n bietjie beter gewees.
Daar was nou nie meer pyn en so nie.
... Ons het seker so tien maande uitgegaan
en toe het ek 'n ander outjie in Kraaifontein ontmoet.
Toe het ek hom nou vertel van die eerste ou
en ons gaan nog altyd uit,
en toe het hy vir my gesê
ek moet nou my eerste ou gaan afsê.
... Toe het ek hom nou gaan afsê,
maar terwyl ek hom afgesê het,
het ons nou weer gemeenskap gehet.
[Pouse. Kyk af terwyl praat]
Maar dis nou verby.
- O: Jy lyk hartseer daaroor.
- R: Soos ek, soos nou,
ek voel ek is nog altyd lief vir hom
so 'n bietjie.
[Stilte]
- O: Maar jy is nou by 'n ander outjie?
- R: Ja. Die pa van my kind -
nie meer die outjie van Kraaifontien nie.
Ons verhouding is ons kom goed oor die weg en so.
Hy is nogals bietjie baie lief vir my.
- O: Vertel vir my van julle sekslewe?
- R: Dit was nou, ek het baie, hoe kan ek sê,
ons het nou lekker oor die weg gekom -
en ons het nou gesit en gesels -
en toe het hy nou vir my gevra
kan hy maar.
En toe het ek vir hom gesê ja,
hy kan maar saam met my seks hê en so.
[Bly so 'n rukkies stil]

- Dit was baie beter gewees as die eerste keer wat ek seks gehet het.
Dit was nie meer so seer nie,
en ek het ook nie meer so skuldig gevoel nie.
Dit was vir my baie meer lekkerder gewees.
- O: Dink jy mans en vrouens voel anders oor seks?
- R: [Dink na voordat antwoord]
Ja.
Ek sou sê dit is vir mans baie belangriker om seks te het as vir vroumense.
Mans is lyk my baie meer lus vir seks
en vroumense moet dit vir hulle gee
as hulle lief is vir die ou.
Dit is seker maar
'n vrou se plek om dit te doen. ...
- O: En is dit ook 'n vrou se verantwoordelikheid om voorbehoedmiddels te gebruik?
- R: Ek sou so sê ja.
... Hy, die kind se pa nou, het vir my gevra of ek die goed gebruik.
Toe het ek vir hom gesê nee, ek gebruik dit nie.
As ons dit nou elke keer gedoen het
het hy nou vir my gevra.
Soos my ma wou nie gehet het ek moet dit gebruik nie.
Ek wou dit graag gebruik het.
Soos hy vir my gesê het,
ek moet dit gebruik.
Toe het ek vir hom gesê
my ma wil nie hê ek moet die inspuiting of pil gebruik nie ...
Hy het niks gesê nie ...
- O: En wat van kondome?
- R: Ons het nooit daaraan gedink om kondome te gebruik nie.
Soos ek nou al gehoor het,
kondome kan af in 'n vroumens se liggaam ook gaan.
Ek het nogals nie daarvan gelike 'n mansmens moet kondome gebruik nie.
- O: Gebruik jy op die oomblik enige voorbehoedmiddels?
- R: Ek gebruik op die oomblik die inspuiting.
Nou's ek nogals; nou weet ek daar sal nie miskien nog 'n tweede enetjie kom nie ...
Ek wil dit graag vroeër al gebruik het,
maar soos my ma gesê het,
ek moet dit nie gebruik nie,
want die susters het altyd by die huis gekom en gesê wat gaan aan,
toe't my ma gesê ek hoef nie
omdat ek nie rondgaan met outjies nie.
... Nou's my ma nogals spyt

omdat ek so vroeg 'n babatjie het,
maar sy's nogals 'n bietjie beterig al.

O: En hoe voel jy nou oor alles wat gebeur het?

R: [Dink 'n rukkie na voordat antwoord.
Kyk die hele tyd af, ook wanneer begin praat]
Ek voel nogals 'n bietjie spyt oor alles wat gebeur het ...
Maar ek weet mos nou gelukkig
die babatjie kan mos nie help dat hy daar is nie ...
Ek is baie lief vir my baba.
[Lang stilte]

O: Baie dankie vir die waardevolle inligting wat jy vir my gegee het, Mandy. Ek
waardeer jou bereidwilligheid om oor sulke sensitiewe dinge met my te gesels; en
ek wil jou net weereens daarvan verseker dat ek dit streng vertroulik sal hanteer.

ONDERHOUD 2: Kodonommer 3

Onderhoudvoerder: Cathy Burger (O)

Respondent: Wendy (R)

- O: Vertel vir my in jou eie woorde die storie van jou heel eerste seksuele ervaring. Ek gaan nie vir jou 'n klomp vrae vra daaroor nie ... ek wil net hê jy moet in jou eie woorde vir my vertel wat daardie dag gebeur het ... asof jy vir my 'n "movie" wys van die eerste keer wat jy seks gehad het. Daar is nie 'n regte of 'n verkeerde manier om jou storie te vertel nie ... vertel net vir my op enige manier wat vir jou gemaklik is.
- R: Moet ek nou vertel van hoe ons verhouding begint het?
- O: Ja, as jy wil. As jy voel jy wil daar begin sodat ek beter kan verstaan, dan is dit in jou hande.
- R: Ek het vir my ma kom kuier
en toe sien ek ... toe vra ek ...
Ek het in Grabouw gebly by my antie
en toe het ek een keer vir my ma kom kuier
en toe vra 'n outjie, sy naam is Elvin, toe vra hy 'n ander meisie wat is my naam,
want hy wou graag met my gesels het.
Toe gaan ek ...
dië dag toe gaan ek
en toe vra hy my wat is my naam
en waar bly ek.
Toe gee hy my 'n foto van hom
en ...
[Lang stilte]
- O: Ja?
- R: En toe het ek aanmekaar kom kuier hier by my ma.
En op die einde toe het ek sommer hier kom bly,
en toe het hy my gevra om saam met hom uit te gaan;
om sy meisie te wees.
[Pouse]
Toe het ek eers gedink.
Toe het ek vir hom gesê ek wil eers dink oor die saak.
En toe twee weke daarna toe het ek vir hom gesê die antwoord is ja.
En toe het ons lekker uitgegaan.
Ons altwee het gaan rondry,
gaan fliek kyk,
ons het gaan videos uitneem,
en ons het altyd restaurant toe gegaan en so.
En op 'n tyd,
dit was 'n Saterdag gewees,
ja op 'n Saterdag het dit gebeur.
Dit was hierso op die plaas,
in hulle huis,

in sy kamer,
toe vra hy vir my of ons nie kan gemeenskap het nie.

O: Hoe lank het julle toe al uitgegaan?

R: Ek dink,
ek kan nie onthou nie.
Dit was 'n hele rukkie gewees;
'n paar maande of so.

O: Ek sien. Vertel vir my wat toe gebeur het.

R: En toe het hy vir my gevra.
Toe sê ek ek is nie seker daaroor nie.
My ma het vir my gesê
as 'n mens 'n affair wil hê dan moet ek 'n skoon verhouding hê.
En toe ...
hy't by my aangehou,
en agterna het ek toe ja gesê,
en toe ... toe het dit maar gebeur.

O: Hoe het hy by jou aangehou?

R: Hy't vir my gevra of ek nie lief is vir hom nie.
En toe sê ek ja.
Toe sê hy nou hoekom wil ek dit dan nie doen nie.
Toe sê ek vir hom dis mos nie deur seks wat ek my liefde moet bewys aan hom
nie.
En agterna toe doen ons dit maar,
en ... [hak vas asof nie weet hoe om haarself verder uit te druk nie] ag ek weet nie,
dit was nie dat ek bang was vir hom of iets nie,
dit was net dat hy aangehou het
en dat ek hom maar tevrede wou stel.
Dit was nie vir myself gewees nie.
As hy dit nie so wou hê nie, dan sou ons dit nie gedoen het nie.
[Lang stilte]

O: Vertel vir my presies wat alles tussen julle twee gebeur het daai dag. Ek stel ook
belang in alles wat gebeur het voordat julle by seks uitgekom het.

R: Ons was heel tyd daar by hulle huis gewees.
Ons het maar net daar rondgesit ...
Hy het die hele tyd baie aandag gegee aan my,
en daai tipe van ding.
Voordat dit nou gebeur het daai dag, was hy baie vryerig gewees,
en hy het aanmekaar vir my gesê ek lyk baie mooi vir hom.
Ek het so 'n rokkie aangehad met dun straps ...
[Dink vir 'n oomblik na]
Dit was nogals lekker gewees om te hoor.
Ek het vir hom dankie gesê.

O: Wat het toe gebeur?

R: Ag ons het gesels,
en toe het ons aan die vry geraak,
en so aan,
en toe gaan ons in na sy kamer toe,
en ons het op die bed gelê,
en hy het my rokkie opgelig
en my pens het uitgesteek.
[Aarsel effens]
Ek het gedink: "Wat doen hy nou? Wat wil hy nou kry?".
Ek was 'n bietjie skrikkerig gewees.

O: Ahmm ...

R: Ek het dit nie geniet eintlik nie ...
Ek het dit nie geniet nie.
En toe het ons nou gemeenskap gehad,
en toe ...
dit was my heel eerste keer wat ek gemeenskap gehad het.
Hulle sê mos gewoonlik dat as jy vir die eerste keer gemeenskap het, dan bloei jy.
Toe het ek nie geweet hoekom ek bloei nie,
toe was ek nou 'n bietjie bekommerd gewees.
Niemand het dit ooit vir my gesê dat dit gaan gebeur, dat ek gaan bloei nie.
Niemand het nog ooit met my daaroor gepraat,
oor wat dit is en wat gebeur en al daai tipe goed nie.

O: Wat het jy alles ervaar terwyl jy en jou outjie besig was om seks te hê?

R: Ek het gedink ekke gaan swanger word.
Ek wou hom gestop het,
maar ek dink toe ek kan dit nie doen nie.
Ek kon dit nie keer nie ...
Ek het toe gedink hy sal dink ek is nie lief vir hom nie.
En ek het regtig omgee vir hom.
Ek het gevoel ek moet dit doen om dit vir hom te bewys...
[Stilte]

O: Wat het jy nog ervaar terwyl jy en jou outjie besig was om seks te hê?

R: Ek het ook nou gedink,
as my ma-hulle nou dit uitvind, hoe sou my ma dan nou voel.
Want my ma het my mos voor die tyd gewaarsku en vir my gesê dat as ek 'n kêrel
wil hê, dat ek 'n skoon verhouding hê.
En die heel eerste keer toe hy vir my gevra het of ons nie 'n seksuele verhouding
kan hê nie, het ek vir hom gesê nee.
En toe het hy dit aanvaar,
maar ek weet nie wat daai dag met hom aangegaan het nie...
[Dink na]

O: Daai dag was anders.

- R: Ja...
[Dink na voordat verder praat]
Ek was al baie spyt dat ek dit gedoen het.
Ek dink as ek dinge nou anders kon doen,
sou ek geweier het om gemeenskap te hê.
Ek het al baie skuldig gevoel daaroor dat ek nie geweier het nie.
Want ek het al voorheen 'n kêrel gehad wat by my begin aandrang het om
gemeenskap te hê met hom.
Een keer wil hy vir my vasgedruk het,
en hy het ook met ander meisies gelol,
toe dink ek, ek los maar vir hom.
En ek het maklik vir hom nee gesê toe hy my vasgedruk het.
Maar ek het nie oor hom gevoel soos ek oor dié een voel nie...
- O: Het jy en jou outjie ooit daaraan gedink om voorbehoedmiddels te gebruik?
- R: Hy wou dit nie gebruik nie.
Hy het vir my gesê dat as onse gemeenskap gaan hê, dan wil hy nie 'n kondoom
gebruik nie.
Toe sê ek vir hom onse moet dit gebruik.
Dis vir onse eie veiligheid.
Dan word 'n mens dan nie swanger nie,
maar hy wou dit toe nie gebruik nie.
My ma wou weer nie eintlik het ek moet die inspuiting of die pil gebruik nie.
My ma het gesê ek's nog te jonk om dit te gebruik.
Sy't vir my gesê dis sodat 'n mens nie swanger raak nie,
dis hoekom sy't gesê ek hoef nie op die pil of inspuiting te gaan nie...
- O: Wat het gebeur nadat jy en jou outjie gemeenskap gehad het?
- R: Toe het ons nou daaroor gepraat wat gebeur het.
Ek het toe vir hom gesê ...
ek het vir hom gevra nou wat sal hy nou maak as ek word nou swanger en so.
Toe sê hy vir my al moet dit maar gebeur sal hy maar sy man staan ...
En toe het ons daarna weer gemeenskap gehad.
- O: Op dieselfde dag?
- R: Nee. Dit was 'n ander dag gewees.
[Dink 'n rukkie na voordat verder praat]
Dit was nou 'n bietjie beter as die eerste keer gewees,
want die eerste keer kry jy mos seer en so.
Maar dit was nog altyd nie vir my lekker gewees nie.
Ek is baie bang daarvoor gewees
elke keer wat dit gebeur het,
want ek was bang dat ek sal swanger raak.
Ek kon nooit net regtig ontspan
en dit geniet nie...
En toe was dit ook so gewees.
Ek het mos vir vier maande nou nie siek geraak nie,
en toe't ek mos clinic toe gegaan,

en toe't my ma saam met my gegaan.
Daai dag het ons toe gehoor
en my ma was baie geskok gewees
en my stiefpa was baie omgekrap.
Toe vra hulle vir my of hulle my nie voor die tyd gewaarsku het nie,
of hulle saam met my gepraat het voor die tyd nie.
Toe sê ek ja hulle het vir my gewaarsku en hulle het met my gepraat.
Toe sê hulle ek het nie hulle woorde kop toe gevat nie,
wat hulle gesê het nie...
Maar dinge is nou meer oraait
vandat die kind hier is.

O: En hoe gaan dit nou met jou en jou outjie se verhouding?

R: Ek is eintlik nog altyd baie erg oor hom,
maar ons sien mekaar eintlik nie meer so baie nie,
want hy werk nou by die munisipaliteit.
Hy is nou vas.
Die werk wat hy het is nou vas.
Hy werk nou in die aande ook.
Dan kom hy laat saans aande terug.
Ek sien hom nou net so party naweke,
wat ek altyd vir hom gaan kuier...

O: En wat beplan jy om verder in die toekoms te doen?

R: Ek sal seker maar gaan werk.
Maar eers wanneer die kind 'n bietjie groter is.
Ja, wanneer sy so drie maande is.
Dan sal ek haar hier by die crèche los.
[Lang stilte]

O: Baie dankie vir die waardevolle inligting wat jy vir my gegee het, Wendy. Ek
waardeer jou bereidwilligheid om oor sulke sensitiewe dinge met my te gesels; en
ek wil jou net weereens daarvan verseker dat ek dit streng vertroulik sal hanteer.

ONDERHOUD 3: Kodonommer 36

Onderhoudvoerder: Cathy Burger (O)

Respondent: Abby (R)

O: Vertel vir my in jou eie woorde die storie van jou heel eerste seksuele ervaring. Ek gaan nie vir jou 'n klomp vrae vra daaroor nie ... ek wil net hê jy moet in jou eie woorde vir my vertel wat daardie dag gebeur het ... asof jy vir my 'n "movie" wys van die eerste keer wat jy seks gehad het. Daar is nie 'n regte of 'n verkeerde manier om jou storie te vertel nie ... vertel net vir my op enige manier wat vir jou gemaklik is.

R: [Lang stilte]
Ek weet nie eintlik waar om te beginne nie ...
Hmmm ...
Ons het mekaar toe al baie lank al geken.
En ek het toe al 5 of 6 maande hier onder by my suster gebly.
My suster-hulle is net die tweede huis van die hoek af.
Ek het eers by my ma-hulle gebly in Touws.
Maar dis 'n goeie entjie.
En toe het ek maar hier onder by my suster-hulle ingetrek...

O: Hoe het dit gebeur dat julle daai dag vir die eerste keer seks gehad het?

R: [Lag verleë]
Ek kan nie so lekker onthou wat ons daai dag gedoen het nie.
[Hou op met lag. Kyk af en dink 'n oomblik na voordat weer antwoord]
Dit was oor 'n naweek gewees.
Ons was net hier by die huis rond gewees daai dag ...
Ons het sommer net buite rondgeloop
En lekker gesels en so aan,
en toe het ons ingekom ...
en toe het dit gebeur.

O: Waaroor het julle alles gesels?

R: Ag, oor hoe lief ons vir mekaar is.
En hoe bang ons is ons verloor mekaar.
[Kort pouse]
En oor seks en so suster.

O: Wat het julle alles met mekaar gesels oor seks?

R: Ag, ons het maar net weer 'n bietjie gepraat daaroor;
nes vantevore.
Oor hoe dit is
en wat mens nou eintlik gebruik en so.
My outjie het eintlik beginne praat daaroor.
[Lag skaam]
Hy het eintlik gepraat daaroor van wat 'n mens nou moet
gebruik as een nou gemeenskap het.

Hy het gesê kondome is die beste om te gebruik.

[Lag weer]

Ek het saamgestem...

[Lang stilte]

O: En wat het toe gebeur?

R: Toe is ons na sy huis toe.

Daai dag was daar nie ander mense in die huis nie.

Ons was alleen gewees.

Ons is toe na sy kamer toe

en daar het ons toe beginne vry.

Ons het lank gevry voordat enigiets gebeur het,

so ek het nie onmiddellik besef dat ons nou gaan seks het nie ...

O: En toe jy dit besef?

R: Ek het baie geskrik,

want dit was die eerste keer vir my.

Ek was baie op my senuwees gewees,

maar ek het vir hom niks gesê daarvan nie suster ...

Want ek wou dit gedoen het ...

My outjie het dit ook nie regtig agtergekom nie ...

O: Hoe was die seks vir jou?

R: Daai eerste keer het ek dit nie regtig geniet nie.

Dit was vir my baie seer gewees.

[Pouse]

Ons het kondome by ons gehad

en ons het dit gebruik.

[Lang stilte. Kyk af asof sensitiewe kwessie aangeraak is]

Dit het vir my snaaks gevoel.

[Pouse]

Terwyl dit besig was om te gebeur, het ek gedink:

miskien sal hy my nou verlaat

as ek dit klaar gedoen het.

Ek het gedink omdat ek nou seks het met hom sal hy sleg dink van my.

Ek het die hele tyd skuldig gevoel toe dit gebeur het ...

[Trek skouers op]

Ek weetie hoekom nie.

[Lang stilte]

O: Wat het verder gebeur?

R: Ons het gereeld daarna weer gemeenskap gehad.

En dit het vir my al hoe beter geraak ...

Ons het toe ook nie meer elke keer kondome gebruik as ons seks gehad het nie;

want ons het nie altyd kondome by ons gehad nie.

Ek geniet seks nou baie meer as aan die begin...

- O: En hoe gaan dit andersins met jou en jou outjie se verhouding?
- R: Ek is baie bly ek het dit gedoen.
Want dit gaan goed met ons verhouding.
Ek bly nou hier van kort gelede af hier by hom en sy ma-hulle;
en ek is baie gelukkig.
Die mense behandel my baie goed.
Ek is soos hulle eie kind.
[Pouse]
My outjie is ook baie bly oor die babatjie wat kom...
[Lag]...
Dis net ek wat so kwaad raak.
Ek raak net so kwaad.
Dan wil ek net alleen sit.
[Lang stilte]
- O: Vertel vir my 'n bietjie meer daarvan.
- R: Ek is nie kwaad vir hom nie.
Ek weet net nie wat gaan aan met my nie.
Dit kom nou al vir 'n tyd aan.
Ek voel net so annerste.
[Lang stilte]
Ag ek weet nie.
Ek voel net so snaaks
en dan wil ek nie praat nie.
En ek raak nogal hartseer
as ek so alleen sit ...
Ek voel alleen,
asof daar niemand is met wie ek kan praat nie;
niemand is wat verstaan hoe ek voel nie.
Dan verlang ek soms na my ouers.
Want daar is ook nie regtig iemand by my suster-hulle wat
hier bo bly met wie ek kan praat nie...
- O: En jou outjie?
- R: Ek kan met my outjie praat oor dinge,
maar ook nie oor alles nie.
[Pouse. Dink 'n bietjie na voordat antwoord]
Maar hy behandel my reg.
Hy drink ook nie eintlik nie ...
net partykeer.
En dan is hy nog steeds dieselfde soos hy is.
Hy raak nie moeilik of so nie.
[Dink 'n bietjie na of sy wil sê wat sy wil sê of nie]
Ja, ek raak partykeer 'n bietjie kwaad as hy drink of so.
Maar ons baklei nie eintlik nie.
En ek kom baie goed met sy familie oor die weg.
Hulle praat met my.
Hulle sê ek moenie so alleen wees nie.

En ek voel altyd 'n bietjie beter as hulle dit vir my sê.

[Lag]

Hulle gee dan 'n bietjie meer aandag aan my
en dit voel dan vir my asof hulle vir my omgee.

[Lang stilte. Duidelik dat sy geen verdere inligting het om spontaan vir die onderhoudvoerder aan te bied nie.]

- O: OK, Abby, is daar enigiets anders wat tussen jou en jou outjie gebeur het, wat jy graag oor sal wil praat ?
- R: Nee, mevrou. Ek kan nou nie eintlik dink nie.
- O: Nou maar goed dan. Baie dankie vir die waardevolle inligting wat jy vir my gegee het. Ek waardeer jou bereidwilligheid om oor sulke sensitiewe dinge met my te gesels; en ek wil jou net weereens daarvan verseker dat ek dit streng vertroulik sal hanteer.

ONDERHOUD 4: Kodonommer 09

Onderhoudvoerder: Cathy Burger (O)

Respondent: Ryna (R)

O: Vertel vir my in jou eie woorde die storie van jou heel eerste seksuele ervaring. Ek gaan nie vir jou 'n klomp vrae vra daaroor nie ... ek wil net hê jy moet in jou eie woorde vir my vertel wat daardie dag gebeur het ... asof jy vir my 'n "movie" wys van die eerste keer wat jy seks gehad het. Daar is nie 'n regte of 'n verkeerde manier om jou storie te vertel nie ... vertel net vir my op enige manier wat vir jou gemaklik is.

R: [Trek asem op en blaas diep uit.]
... OK ...
Dit was 'n groot fout gewees.
Dit moes nooit gebeur het nie...
Ek het baie kere al vir my ou gesê
ek hou baie van hom en als,
maar ek voel noggie reg vir 'n seksuele verhouding nie.
Ek is nog baie jonk,
en wil dit nog geniet om te kan uitgaan
en te "party" en als,
sonder om te hoef te worry.
[Effense stilte. Trek dan skouers op.]
Ek was seker ook maar net 'ie seker dat hy die regte ou is vir my nie.
Ek het noggie committed gevoel tot hom nie.
[Pouse. Staar in die verte wanneer praat.]
Maar toe het dit in elke geval gebeur...

O: Hoe het dit gekom dat julle toe op die ou einde seks gehad het ?

R: Ons was die aand uit gewees saam met vriende ...
Ons het lekker "party" gehou op die beach ...
en ons het altwee nogals baie te veel gedrink.
[Kyk skaam af.]
Ek het op daai stadium in my lewe nogals baie keer dronk geraak.
Ek het altyd gedrink as ek saam met my palle uit was.
... Maar daai aand was baie "bad" gewees.
Ek het nie lekker geweet wat rondom my aangaan
of wat ek besig was om te doen nie.

O: Wat kan jy onthou van wat alles tussen jou en jou ou gebeur het ?

R: Ek kan onthou ons twee het op 'n stadium weggedwaal van ons vrinne af.
En ons het langs die beach gaan loop
en ... ek weetie ...
ek kan rêrig nie onthou hoe nie,
... maar ons het op een of ander manier in sy kar opgeënd.

En toe het ons geseks.
Ek weet self nie wat oor my gekom het'ie.
Ek het altyd gesê ek sal dit nooit doen nie.
[Lang stilte.]
En dis hoekom ek ook'ie voorbehoedmiddels gebruik het nie,
want ek het'ie eers daaraan gedink dat ek dit dalk sal nodig kry nie.
Daar was mos'ie 'n kans dat ek sou swanger raak
as ek nie seks het met ouens nie.
... Stupid.
[Beklemtoon. Kap kop in woede.]

O: Dit klink asof jy baie spyt is daaroor dat jy daai aand seks gehad het met jou ou.

R: Ja, ek is.
Ek kannie glo dat ek nie maar in elk geval voorbehoedmiddels gebruik het nie,
al het ek gedink ek sal'ie seks het nie.
Ek besef nou dat 'n mens "never" kan sê dit sal "never" met my gebeur nie.
Want toe ek toe nou die eerste keer daaraan dink om dit te gebruik,
toe ons nou klaar seks gehet het,
toe's dit klaar te laat;
toe verwag ek al klaar
... en toe help dit my niks meer nie.
[Effense stilte. Staar diep in gedagte na die grond. Kyk dan navorser in gesig
wanneer verder praat.]
... Dinge het net so anders uitgedraai
as wat ek my dit altyd voorgestel het.

O: Vertel vir my 'n bietjie meer van wat gebeur het daai eerste keer wat jy en jou ou
seks gehad het.

R: Ek kannie onthou nie !
[Klink desperaat.]
Al wat ek weet is
ons was baie dronk
en ons het beginne vry
[Praat al hoe vinniger]
en toe't hy aan my borste begin vat,
en toe't hy vir my gesê ons moet dit doen.
...En ek het hom net laat aangaan...
[Effense stilte]
Eers die volgende môre het ek rêrig besef wat ek nou gedoen het...

O: En hoe het jy gevoel daaroor ?

R: Ek was geskok met myself.
En... ek weetie,ek weetie...
Ek het skuldig gevoel,
maar ek weetie hoekom nie...

O: Wat het verder gebeur ?

R: Ek het baie verander na dit alles.
Ek wou nie eintlik meer so baie uitgaan en kuier nie,
en ek het heeltemaal opgehou met drink.
Nadat ek en my ou nou seks gehet het,
het ek seker maar gevoel daai dae is nou verby.
Ek het nou met hom iets gedeel
wat ek nog nooit met iemand anders gedeel het nie,
en ek moet myself nou aan hom commit...

O: Ahmmm?

R: Ons seksuele verhouding het toe aangegaan.
[Dink so 'n bietjie na voordat verder praat.]
Ons het gepraat oor voorbehoedmiddels,
want ek het gevoel ek moet dit gebruik.
Ek was nog altyd OK met die idee van voorbehoedmiddels.
My ou was nie rêrig baie OK daarmee nie.
Hy het glad nie van die idee van kondome gehou nie,
dit het hom baie ongemaklik laat voel.
Maar hy het gesê dis oraaits as ek pille of iets wil gebruik...
[Sug]
...maar ek het toe nooit sover gekom nie,
want toe was ek al swanger
voordat ek dit nog kon begin gebruik.
[Dink na voordat verder praat. Lang stilte. Navorser los haar, want dis duidelik
dat sy nog wil verder praat.]
As ek nou vir ander jong meisies moet sê wat noggie swanger is'ie,
dan sou ek sê mens moet besluit om voorbehoedmiddels te gebruik,
al dink jy nie daar gaan iets gebeur nie.
JY MOET VOORSORG TREF!...
Want jy sien,
jongmense kan nie maklik met mekaar daaroor sit en gesels
voordat hulle seks het nie.
Nou na die tyd kan 'n mens,
maar voor die tyd dink jy nie daaraan nie;
dit gebeur net sommer vanself.
[Effense stilte. Dink weer so 'n bietjie voordat verder praat.]
Maar jy moet weet hoe om die goed reg te gebruik,
anders help dit tog nie jy gebruik dit nie.
En dis waar mense wat programme aanbied nou inkom en so...

O: Hoe voel jy, watter bydrae het hierdie mense om te lewer?

R: Hulle moet daar wees vir die jongmense
en hulle moet obviously iemand wees met wie jy gemaklik voel om saam mee te
gesels...
Hulle moet nie negatief wees'ie...
En 'n mens laat sleg voel as jy seks het nie.
Hulle moet die jongmense verstaan
en hulle nie veroordeel nie,
anders sal niemand hulle mos vertrou
en met hulle gaat gesels'ie.
Dis al klaar moeilik genoeg om oor seks te gesels...
Maar op een of ander manier moet 'n mens jongmense sover kry om
voorbehoedmiddels te gebruik...

O: Gebruik jy op die oomblik voorbehoedmiddels ?

R: Ja,
ek gebruik nou die inspuiting,
en ek sal dit definitief aanhou gebruik.
Ek wil'ie nou met nog 'n kind gelos word nie.
Dit gaan nie meer so lekker met my en my ou se verhouding nie, sien.
Hy het my verneuk met 'n ander meisie so 'n ruk terug,
en al het hy gesê hy's jammer en als
en hy wil by my wees en so,
weet ek nie meer of ek by hom wil bly nie.
Dit voel vir my ek kan hom nie meer vertrou nie.
En dit voel ook asof hy my net gebruik het vir seks
en toe hy dit nou gekry het,
toe's hy nou ook'ie meer so interested soos hy eers was nie.
Hy sê hy's spyt oor wat met my gebeur het en als,
maar hy doen nie juis veel om my te vergoed daarvoor nie.
Hy kom kuier wel so nou en dan vir die baba
en dan sê hy vir my ons moet dinge uitwerk en so,
maar ek weet'ie of ek wil nie.
[Pouse]

O: Wat wil jy graag in die toekoms met jou lewe doen ?

R: Ek weet'ie rêrig nie.
Al wat ek weet is dat ek graag my matriek sal wil gaan kry,
maar verder vorentoe weet ek nie wat ek wil doen nie.
Dinge het net so complicated geraak...
En hy kan net aangaan met sy lewe asof niks gebeur het'ie.
Dis so unfair.
Mans het dinge net so anners.
Hulle kan seks het net wanneer hulle wil
en met wie hulle wil,
en hulle hoef niks van die responsibility te vat as hulle nie wil nie.
[Praat met bitterheid in stem.]
[Lang stilte]

- O: Ahmmm?
- R: Ag, ek weet"ie. Daar's niks wat ek meer kan sê nie.
- O: Nou maar baie dankie vir die waardevolle inligting wat jy vir my gegee het, Ryna. Ek waardeer jou bereidwilligheid om oor sulke sensitiewe dinge met my te gesels; en ek wil jou net weereens daarvan verseker dat ek dit streng vertroulik sal hanteer.

ONDERHOUD 5: Kodenommer 24

Onderhoudvoerder: Cathy Burger (O)

Respondent: Kendal (R)

- O: Vertel vir my in jou eie woorde die storie van jou heel eerste seksuele ervaring. Ek gaan nie vir jou 'n klomp vrae vra daaroor nie ... ek wil net he jy moet in jou eie woorde vir my vertel wat daardie dag gebeur het ... asof jy vir my 'n "movie" wys van die eerste keer wat jy seks gehad het. Daar is nie 'n regte of 'n verkeerde manier om jou storie te vertel nie ... vertel net vir my op enige manier wat vir jou gemaklik is.
- R: [Dink voordat antwoord.]
Ek het al baie ander outjies gehad
Met wie ek goeie vriende was,
Maar ek het nie seks gehad met hulle nie.
Hoe kan ek sê
Ek was nog nie vir myself reg gewees
om toe al 'n verhouding met iemand te hê nie.
Maar die outjie was anders ...
- O: Het dit vir jou reg gevoel om 'n verhouding met hom te hê?
- R: Ja. Ek was nog nooit lief vir 'n ander kêrel gewees
of so te sê nie.
Maar ek was nogals lief vir hom,
en daarom het ek net daardie dag besluit
maar ek gaan dit doen met hom.
[Kyk verleë af. Vroetel met hande.]
- O: Vertel vir my wat daardie dag gebeur het?
- R: [Dink 'n oomblik voordat antwoord.]
Heel dag was ons by mekaar gewees.
Ons het meeste van die dag in die dorp spandeer –
gaan uiteet en gaan flik en so aan.
Toe ons terugkom is ons na sy huis toe
waar ons heel tyd die res van die dag was.
[Pouse]
Ons het baie lekker gesels daai dag – soos altyd.
Ons twee, hoe kan ek sê,
ons twee praat oor alles.
Ons maak jokes oor mense
en daar kom baie dronk mense by hulle huis
en dan hoef ons net vir mekaar te kyk om vir hulle te begin lag en so.
[Pouse – skaam stilte]
Ons het ook weer oor seks gepraat.

- O: Julle het al in die verlede ook daaroor gepraat?
- R: [Skud kop vir ja.]
Vantevore het ons al geprobeer om seks te hê,
maar ek het net elke keer vir hom gestop voordat dit gebeur het.
Ek het net nooit reg gevoel daarvoor nie.
Ons het dan altyd gesels
oor hoekom ek dit nie wou gedoen het nie en alles.
Hy het altyd vir my gesê dis my besluit.
- O: En daardie dag?
- R: Daardie dag was dit ook my besluit.
Ek weet nie...
dit het net so gevoel
ek moet dit nou doen.
- O: Moet?
- R: Dit was net 'n gevoel gewees,
ek kan nie sê nie.
Ek het altyd gesê ek sal dit nooit doen nie,
maar toe voel ek net om dit te doen.
Hy het my nie gedwing om dit te doen nie,
ek wou dit gedoen het...
omdat ek lief is vir hom het ek dit ook gedoen.
- O: Wat het presies gebeur?
- R: Ons het 'n kombers oopgegooi langs die huis
en lank daar gesit en gesels.
Ons het baie oor ons verhouding ook gepraat.
Dit het laat geraak
en dit was amper tyd vir my om huistoe te gaan...
en toe het ons begin vry.
Ek het die vryery baie geniet,
want ons was in 'n baie romantiese "mood".
Ek het op daai stadium nog glad nie besef dat ons gaan seks nie.
Eers toe my broek amper uit was, het ek dit besef.
[Lang pouse.]
Ek weet nie hoekom ek dit nie daardie dag gestop het nie.
Ons het mos al voorheen probeer,
so ek het geweet dit gaan seer wees...
en ek was bang.
[Draai gesig skaam weg van die onderhoudvoerder. Pouse.]
Ek het ook skuldig gevoel.
My ma-hulle het my ook altyd geleer
dat 'n mens seks moet hou vir later
wanneer jy getroud is.

En ek het altyd gedink dat ek dit sal doen,
[Peinsend]
maar toe dit daai dag op daai punt kom,
is al wat ek gedink het is net
ek is lief vir hom...
en ek wou dit doen.

O: Hoe het jy die seks self ervaar?

R: Dit was nie so lank nie
en dit was seer.
Ek sou nie rêrig sê ek het dit geniet nie.
Ek was die hele tyd op my senuwees
en daar het baie goed deur my gedagtes gegaan.

O: Baie goed?

R: Ja, soos wat my ma-hulle sou sê.
Ek het ook gedink wat gaan gebeur as ek swanger is.
Ek en my kêrel het ook agterna daaroor gesels.
Ons het dit nou gedoen,
en wat gaan gebeur as ek swanger is,
en of ek nou vir 'n inspuiting of 'n voorbehoedmiddel moet gaan.
En toe het ek daai tyd al vir hom gesê nee.
Dit was altyd my besluit gewees.
Ek wou dit nie gebruik nie.

O: Hoekom nie.

R: Ek is bang vir 'n inspuiting
en 'n pil is nie vir my so goed nie.
Baie het gesê
as jy te vroeg voorbehoedmiddels gebruik kan dit eendag so kom dat jy nie kinders
kan kry nie...
dat dit jou baarmoeder beskadig.
[Pouse]
My antie het 'n probleem gekry met 'n inspuiting.
Haar baarmoeder het vratte opgekry.
[Staar in die verte en dink 'n rukkie na.]
Ek sal dit seker nou vir 'n tyd moet gebruik.
Almal gebruik dit nou
of is dit nie 'n moet dat jy 'n inspuiting moet gebruik nie...
ek weet self nie.

O: Jy klink ongelukkig daaroor.

R: Ek het net nooit gedink dit sal vir my nodig wees om sulke goed te gebruik nie.
Dit was nog altyd vir my baie verkeerd.
My pa wou nog nooit rêrig hê ek moet voorbehoedmiddels gebruik nie.
My ma eintlik ook nie,

maar sy het met my gepraat daaroor toe ek en my ou begin seks het.
Sy het - hoe kan ek sê -
‘n “clinic” suster het vir haar gevra om vir my te bring om ‘n inspuiting te gebruik...
maar ek het nie,
want ek het geweet dat ek toe al klaar swanger was.
[Raak hartseer – lang stilte.]
My ouers ondersteun my baie,
maar ek dink hulle is baie disappointed.
Ek voel baie skuldig oor alles wat gebeur het,
maar ek is baie lief vir my baby,
en ek sou dinge seker presies dieselfde doen as ek dit kon oorhê.

O: Wat beplan jy om verder in die toekoms te doen?

R: Ek is besig om my matriek by die huis te doen.
Ek wil graag maatskaplike werk gaan studeer as ek daarmee klaar is.

O: En jy en jou kêrel?

R: Ons is nog altyd by mekaar.
Hy is baie danig oor die baba
en kom baie kuier.
[Pouse.]
Ek weet nie wat vorentoe gaan gebeur nie.
Ek sou sê ons is nog altyd baie lief vir mekaar,
maar ons is nie meer so betrokke by mekaar se lewens soos vroeër nie.
[Pouse.]
Ek weet nie...
[Lang stilte]

O: Baie dankie vir die waardevolle inligting wat jy vir my gegee het, Kendal. Ek waardeer jou bereidwilligheid om oor sulke sensitiewe dinge met my te gesels; en ek wil jou net weereens daarvan verseker dat ek dit streng vertroulik sal hanteer.

ONDERHOUD 6: Kodonommer 07

Onderhoudvoerder: Cathy Burger (O)

Respondent: Vanessa (R)

- O: Vertel vir my in jou eie woorde die storie van jou heel eerste seksuele ervaring.
Ek gaan nie vir jou 'n klomp vrae vra daaroor nie ... ek wil net hê jy moet in jou eie woorde vir my vertel wat daardie dag gebeur het ... asof jy vir my 'n "movie" wys van die eerste keer wat jy seks gehad het. Daar is nie 'n regte of 'n verkeerde manier om jou storie te vertel nie ... vertel net vir my op enige manier wat vir jou gemaklik is.
- R: [Aarsel vir 'n oomblik.]
[Praat dan met 'n bewerige stem.]
Ek en my boyfriend was op die strand gewees.
...En jy weet,
al my vriende het al by daardie tyd seks gehad en so aan.
Ek was nou al een wat toe nog nie gemeenskap gehad het met iemand en so aan nie...
En ons was nou by die strand
en ons het lekker gesels en so aan.
[Pouse. Dink vir 'n oomblik na, asof gedagtes agter mekaar kry.]
Ons het so half sewe huis toe gekom.
Al ons vriende het ons afgelaai
...en later het hy nou vir my gevra of ons alleen kan wees.
Ons was nou heel middag saam met vriende en so aan.
Ek het vir hom gesê toe: Ja, ons kan.
Ons het toe heel tyd in die rondte gery.
En...
[Praat al hoe vinniger.]
hy is nou veel ouer as ek en so aan.
Ons het die heel tyd gery
en ons het op 'n plek stil gaan staan
waar ons so 'n stukkie gepraat het.
En hy het vir my gesê:
OK, hy het al seks gehad met meisies en so aan,
en hy wil nou graag weet of ek al gehad het.
...Toe sê ek vir hom nee,
dis die eerste keer dat ek ook daaroor gesels en so aan.
My ouers het nou wel met my al gesels daaroor en so aan,
maar dis die eerste keer dat ek nou met 'n outjie daaroor praat.
...En hy het vir my gevra hoe voel ek oor die situasie nou en so aan.
Toe sê ek, ek kan nie nou vir hom sê nie,
want wat insinueer hy daarmee.
Toe sê hy nee,
ek en hy is nou al 'n hele tydjie bymekaar...
[Dink so 'n bietjie na]
dit was omtrent 'n jaar en 'n half
en hoe sal ek nou voel as ons twee nou seks het met mekaar.
[Lang stilte.]

O: En hoe het jy gevoel daaroor?

R: Op die tyd was ek baie senuweeagtig
en toe sê ek, ek weet nie wat om vir hom te sê nie.
Toe begin hy my soen en so aan.
En toe het hy begin vatterig raak en so aan
en ek het begin sê, nee hy moet dit nie doen nie.
[Pouse.]
Maar later het hy vir my gekalmeer
en gesê dis OK,
hy weet wat hy doen.
Toe't ek vir hom gesê maar kan ek net daaroor dink en so aan...
Toe sê hy vir my hy's lief vir my
en hy voel dat ek moet net vir hom sê of dit reg is of ons kan.
Toe sê ek vir hom OK,
ek verstaan,
maar ek dink nie dis reg dat ek dit nou doen nie.

O: Hoe het hy toe gereageer?

R: [Lang stilte. Kyk af en vroetel met vingers.]
Hy was eers ontsteld,
maar daarna het hy vir my gesê
as ons nou so lank al uitgaan,
dan moet 'n mens mos weet wat gedoen word.
[Praat met agitasie in stem.]
Ek het gedink dat hy nie omgee nie,
want as hy vir my lief was dan kon hy gewag het.
Maar hy het vir my so gerus gemaak;
hy het vir my gekalmeer en gesê,
maar enige mens doen dit op een of ander tyd in hulle lewe.
...Ek voel toe wel al my vriende het dit nou al gedoen en so aan,
maar ek self wil nie.
Ek is nog baie jonk,
en al is baie van my vriende so oud soos ek is
wil ek nie eintlik seks buite die huwelik gehad het nie.

O: Hhmm?

R: Hy was teleurgestel
...hoe kan ek sê,
hy't nie eintlik kwaad geraak nie.
Hy't nie... hy't net 'n bietjie... hoe kan ek sê...
hy't net gevra hoekom ek dit nie wil doen nie
en wat is verkeerd met my
...dis al.
[Kyk af. Kry hartseer uitdrukking.]
Ek was lief vir hom en ek was ontsteld dat hy so iets sê,
want hy was die eerste ou vir wie ek regtig iets gevoel het
en ek wou hom nie so sien nie.

En daarom het ek maar besluit om dit met hom te doen.
Maar ek het die hele tyd in gedagte gehad:
ek is nog jonk,
ek is nog nie getroud nie.
My ouers het my vertel dat jy mag nie seks hê voor die huwelik nie.
My ma was dieselfde ouderdom wat ek nou is
toe sy 'n kind gehad het en sy het altyd vir my vertel
sy wil nie hê dat ons moet deur dieselfde goed gaan nie.
...'n Klomp goed het deur my kop gegaan terwyl dit gebeur het.

O: So jy het aan jou ouers gedink – het jy enige tyd aan voorbehoedmiddels gedink?

R: Hy het vir my gevra of ek glo aan voorbehoedmiddels.
Toe't ek vir hom gesê ek hou nie eintlik van sulke goed nie,
Want een vriendin van my,
sy wou so graag babies hê,
maar sy het dit gebruik en nou kan sy nie babies hê nie.
Nou's ek bang as ek dit gebruik sal ek ook nie kan kinders hê nie...
[Trek skouers op.]
Toe ek dit vir hom sê het hy gesê as ek dit nie wil gebruik nie,
dan is dit ook OK en so aan...

O: Vertel vir my 'n bietjie meer van toe julle seks gehad het?

R: [Praat hard en vinnig.]
Ek het nooit vir hom gesê dis okay nie.
Hy het net aangehou
en later het dit net vanself gebeur.
[Kyk af en vroetel met vingers wanneer verder praat.]
Ons was in die motor op die agterse sitplek.
Hy't nader geskuif en by my kom sit.
...En toe't dit nou alles begin.
[Sug wanneer praat.]
Hy't nou beginne om vir my uit te trek en so.
En ons het nou beginne soen en vry.
Dit het 'n hele rukkie so aangehou,
want elke keer as hy nou te vatterig geraak het en so,
dan het ek nou vir hom gesê:
"Nee, stop dit."
Dan het hy nou van voor af begin vry.
[Aksentueer die volgende woorde.]
Hy het nie moed opgegee nie.
Hy het net aangehou
totdat ons dan nou uiteindelik seks gehad het.
[Lang stilte.]

O: En hoe was die seks self vir jou?

R: O, aaklig! Dit was baie seer.
Ek was die hele tyd baie senuweeagtig
en styfgetrek.

...Ek kon dit nie geniet nie,
ek was die hele tyd besig met ander gedagtes.
Ek het net aanmekaar gedink:
“Hoe gaan ek my ouers vertel?”

O: Wat het verder gebeur?

R: Hy't my toe huis toe gevat.
Maar hy bly nie hier in die Stellenbosch nie;
hy bly in Kraaifontein.
En hy moes toe Kraaifontein toe gegaan het,
so hy kon nie eintlik lank by my gebly het nie,
...maar hy was toe op die ou einde eers 'n hele rukkie by my gewees.
[Praat met effense geïrriteerdheid in stem.]
En hy wou aanmekaar weet of ek nou oraait is,
en hoe ek nou voel oor alles wat gebeur het en so.
Maar ek kon glad'ie met hom daaroor praat nie,
ek was seker self nog te geskok gewees.
Al wat ek kon dink is:
“Ek kon nie glo dat ek dit ook nou gedoen het nie.”
Dit was vir my so unreal.
Dit het alles so vinnig gebeur.
[Effense pouse voordat verder praat. Reflekterend.]
Die aand daarna het hy toe nou vir my gebel
en weer vir my gevra of ek nou OK is,
en wat ek nou dink van die situasie.
Ek het vir hom gesê ek weet nie wat ek dink nie,
want ek kan nie eintlik daarmee saamleef met dat ek dit nou gedoen het nie.
Hy't toe met my gepraat,
maar ek was so skaam gewees
Ek wou net so gou as moontlik die telefoon neersit.
[Stilte.]

O: Wat het verder gebeur?

R: Ag, dinge het beter geraak.
Ek het seker maar so met die tyd gewoon beginne raak aan die idee dat ek seks
gehad het.
Ek het dit nou gedoen
...en dit was nou te laat om dinge anders te wil maak.
[Effense pouse.]
[Trek skouers in 'n “matter-of-fact-manier” op.]
En ons het toe nou na daai eerste keer gereeld weer seks gehad.
...En ek het ook mos nou pregnant geraak.
Dit het dinge toe nou van voor af weer 'n bietjie moeilik gemaak,
want toe moes ek nou vir my ma-hulle sê van die hele storie.
[Kyk af met effe hartseer uitdrukking op gesig.]
...Ek weet hulle was baie teleurgesteld in my.
[Stilte.]

O: En nou dat die baba gebore is?

R: Nou gaan dit beter.

My ma-hulle is baie lief vir die babatjie
en hulle help my baie.

Maar hulle is ook streng met my.

Hulle dring daarop aan dat ek na die kleintjie moet kyk,
en hulle wil niks daarvan weet dat ek aandskool gaan nie.

Ek dink hulle wil seker maar vir my probeer wys dat ek verantwoordelikheid moet
dra vir dit wat ek gedoen het.

[Trek skouers op en praat met moedeloosheid in stem.]

Ek weet nie,

ek kan net nie help om te dink dat ek my lewe weggegooi het nie.

Ek wou so graag iets met my lewe maak,
maar nou is dit alles daarmee heen.

[Protesteer met hande.]

Moet my nie verkeerd verstaan nie,

ek is baie lief vir my kind,

maar ek kan net nie help om te wonder dat dinge anders kon wees nie.

...Ek is spyt dat ek nou met 'n baba sit.

O: En hoe gaan dit nou met jou en jou ou?

R: Goed.

Ons sien mekaar nog baie.

Hy is nogals baie erg oor die baba
en hy kom baie kuier.

En dan bring hy partykeer geld en goe djies en so.

So dis oraaait...

Ag, my lewe's seker nie so bad nie.

Ek wens net partykeer dat ek dinge weer kon oor doen.

[Lang stilte.]

O: Vanessa, baie dankie vir die waardevolle inligting wat jy vir my gegee het. Ek
waardeer jou bereidwilligheid om oor sulke sensitiewe dinge met my te gesels;
en ek wil jou net weereens daarvan verseker dat ek dit streng vertroulik sal
hanteer.

ONDERHOUD 7: Kodonommer 34

Onderhoudvoerder: Cathy Burger (O)

Respondent: Liezel (R)

O: Vertel vir my in jou eie woorde die storie van jou heel eerste seksuele ervaring. Ek gaan nie vir jou 'n klomp vraevra daaroor nie ... ek wil net hê jy moet in jou eie woorde vir my vertel wat daardie dag gebeur het ... asof jy vir my 'n "movie" wys van die eerste keer wat jy seks gehad het. Daar is nie 'n regte of 'n verkeerde manier om jou storie te vertel nie ... vertel net vir my op enige manier wat vir jou gemaklik is.

R: [Stilte. Gee dan skaam lag.]
Nee, ons was nou net hier onder by die pad gewees.
Ek het afgestap na die grootpad toe,
toe't hy daar langs die pad gestaan,
en ons het aan die gesels geraak.
[Kyk af en glimlag weer skaam. Stilte.]

O: Waaroor het julle alles gesels?

R: Dat ons van mekaar hou en so.
[Skaam en ongemaklike lag.] -
Ek het nogals rêrig van hom gehou,
al was dit nog nie lank gewees dat ons mekaar geken het nie.
Ons het mekaar eintlik daai dag vir die eerste keer ontmoet,
maar hy was nice gewees
en hy't vir my gesê hy's lief vir my.
En toe hy vir my al die goeters sê,
het hy my goed laat voel oor myself...
Hy't gesê ek is mooi en sexy...
en toe vra hy vir my of ons twee nie kan een word een of ander tyd nie.
[Kyk skaam af en hou op met praat.]

O: En wat het jy toe gesê?

R: Ek het ja gesê.
[Lag verleë.]
Wel, eintlik het ek eerste vir hom nee gesê,
maar hy't toe vir my gesê ek moet nie nou so wees'ie,
hy sal my nie seer maak nie
en hy sal vir my mooi goeters koop.
[Trek skouers op.]
En toe't ek vir hom gesê:
"Ja, OK."
...Ek was seker ook maar 'n bietjie bang om vir hom nee te sê.
[Lang stilte. Subjek kyk reflektierend af vloer toe.]

O: Wat het toe verder gebeur?

- R: Ons is toe daar in die veldjie in
 tot da' by die bome
 en daar het dit toe gebeur.
 [Subjek lyk baie ongemaklik met die onderwerp. Vroetel en skuif baie rond.]
 Dit was alles so vinnig gewees.
 [Pouse.]
 Ek was die hele tyd baie bang gewees,
 want ek het mos nog nooit vantevore gemeenskap gehad nie.
 [Stilte.]
- O: Het jy en die ou enigsins oor voorbehoedmiddels gepraat voordat julle seks gehad
 het?
- R: Nee...
 Hy het nog nooit sulke goed gebruik nie,
 en ek
 [Lag skaam]
 hettie gedink daaraan nie.
 [Stilte.]
- O: Vertel vir my 'n bietjie meer van hoe die seks self vir jou was?
- R: Al wat ek kan sê is... dit was baie seer gewees.
 En...
 [Lag verleë]
 ek weet'ie...
 ek het die hele tyd gedink maar dis'ie reg nie.
 Want my ma't altyd vir my gesê ek moet dit nie doen as ek te jonk is nie.
 As ek ouer is, is dit my saak...
- O: Ahmmm?
- R: En...en toe dit nou verby was,
 toe het hy nou saam met my teruggestap na my huis toe
 om vir my ma-hulle ook nou te groet en so.
 En toe ons nou so stap
 toe't hy nou vir my gesê dat hy dit baie geniet het
 en as dit dan nou so moet gebeur dat ek swanger raak,
 dan sal hy nou baie bly wees en so,
 want hy sal eintlik baie graag 'n seun wil hê.
 [Lag verleë. Pouse.]
 En toe het hy nou van dan af heel partykeer by my kom kuier
 en dan het ons nou weer geseks.
 [Kyk skaam af voordat verder praat.]
 Ek het gehoop dat hy by my sal bly as ek dit vir hom doen,
 want ek het nogals rêrig baie van hom gehou.
 Hy was anners as die anner outjies
 wat ek vroeër mee vriende was.
 Hy was sag

en sy maniere was mooi.
En hy was mooi.
[Lag wanneer laasgenoemde sê. Stilte.]

O: En het hy toe by jou gebly?

R: Ja, vir so 'n rukkie daarna,
maar toe my pa'le uitvind ons het seks gehad
het hulle ons geskel
en gesê ek moet hom los.
My ouers het eintlik aan die begin nogals baie van hom gelikes,
maar toe hulle nou hoor dat ek verwag,
was veral my pa baie kwaad vir hom gewees.
Hy't niks van hom meer gehou nie.
[Lang stilte. Kyk hartseer af grond toe voordat verder praat.]
En in elk geval noudat die ou weet dat ek 'n dogtertjie gaan hê,
wil hy in elk geval niks veel meer met my of die kind te doen hê nie...

O: So julle het nie rêrig meer kontak met mekaar nie?

R: Nee, maar ek bel hom nog partykeers.
Dan vra hy darem hoe dit met my en die baba gaan.
Ag, miskien is dit ook vir ons beter
dat hy nie meer eintlik deel van ons lewens is nie...
[Staar in die verte.]

O: Hoe so?

R: Hy kan nogals partykeer baie kwaad raak.
Baie kwaad!

O: Vertel vir my 'n bietjie meer daarvan?

R: ...Hhmm...
[Baie ongemaklik. Skuif rond en bewerigheid in stem.]
Soos toe ons nou daai eerste keer seks gehad het.
Toe ek eers vir hom gesê het, "nee, ek willie seks het nou nie",
toe wou hy dit nie geaanvaar het'ie,
en toe't hy vir my geslat.
En toe was ek bang gewees vir hom.
Ek was bang dat as ek weer vir hom nee sê,
dat hy my weer gaan slat;
en toe het ek maar stil gebly.
[Lang stilte.]

O: Noudat jy weet dat hy nie beplan om jou in die toekoms te ondersteun nie, wat dink jy om verder vorentoe te doen?

- R: Ek gaan definitief die babatjie hou
en haar self grootmaak.
Maar... ek sal moet gaan werk as ek klaar die baba gehet het.
...Seker maar hier op die plaas rond.
My ouma wat by ons bly
sal dan maar moet kyk agter die baba.
Sy kyk al klaar agter my antie se kind ook.
My ma sal'ie kan nie,
want sy werk ook bedags op die plaas.
[Stilte.]
- O: Hoe voel jy nou oor alles wat gebeur het?
- R: [Trek skouers op.]
Ek weetie...
[Dink 'n bietjie ernstig na.]
Ek is nogals spyt dat ek nou met 'n baba sit,
en ek wens baie keer dinge het anders gebeur...
Maar ek weet ek sal liefraak vir die baba.
Dis tog'ie sy skuld nie,
en dit help'ie ek's kwaad vir hom nie.
- O: Baie dankie vir die waardevolle inligting wat jy vir my gegee het, Liezel. Ek
waardeer jou bereidwilligheid om oor sulke sensitiewe dinge met my te gesels;
en ek wil jou net weereens daarvan verseker dat ek dit streng vertroulik sal
hanteer.

ONDERHOUD 8: Kodonommer 38

Onderhoudvoerder: Cathy Burger (O)

Respondent: Rentia (R)

Belangrike agtergrond: Onderhoud word by respondent se huis gevoer. Met my aankoms was hele gesin aandagtig besig om 'n TV-episode van Dallas te kyk, wat ook voor die aanvang van die onderhoud in detail met my bespreek is.

O: Vertel vir my in jou eie woorde die storie van jou heel eerste seksuele ervaring. Ek gaan nie vir jou 'n klomp vraevra daaroor nie ... ek wil net hê jy moet in jou eie woorde vir my vertel wat daardie dag gebeur het ... asof jy vir my 'n "movie" wys van die eerste keer wat jy seks gehad het. Daar is nie 'n regte of 'n verkeerde manier om jou storie te vertel nie ... vertel net vir my op enige manier wat vir jou gemaklik is.

R: [Lag op 'n manier wat lyk asof sy dit geniet om in die kalklig te wees en geëerd voel om haar storie te vertel.]

Ek en my ou was al 'n hele paar maande by mekaar gewees toe ons vir die eerste keer gemeenskap gehet het.

Hy was my eerste ou gewees.

Voordat ek hom leer ken het,

het ek nog nooit eintlik aan ouens gedink

of in hulle belanggestel nie.

Maar hy...

hoe sal 'n mens nou sê...

ek het nog nooit so gevoel oor enige iemand nie.

Al wat vir my belangrik geword het

is om by hom te wees.

Ek sou enigiets vir hom gedoen het.

...En hy het my altyd so baie goed behandel.

Al was hy ouer as ek gewees,

het hy nooit advantage geneem van my nie.

Hy het my altyd gerespect

en hy het altyd baie mooi na my gekyk.

[Dink 'n bietjie na en kry heimwee in haar oë.]

Ons twee is baie lief vir mekaar.

Dit wat ons vir mekaar voel is rêrig baie spesiaal.

Min mense verstaan dit...

[Stilte.]

O: Vertel vir my hoe dit toe nou gebeur het dat julle twee vir die eerste keer gemeenskap gehad het?

R: Man, hy het toe nou die aand by my kom kuier hier by my ma-hulle se huis, maar my ma-hulle wassie daai aand hier gewees nie. Dit was net ons twee gewees.

[Pouse. Dink na.]

Ag, dit was 'n baie lekker aand gewees.

Ons het innie sitkamer gesit

en kuier

en TV gekyk

en so.

En toe later aan

...toe't ons aan'ie vry geraak.

Ons het nogal baie heavy gevry daai aand.

Omdat ek nou heelwat jonger as hy is,

was hy nog altyd baie versigtig gewees as ons vry en so,

want hy was bang dat my ma-hulle dalk nie sou wou hê ons moet mekaar sien as daar meer tussen ons aangaan nie.

En hy het altyd vir my gesê ek is vir hom te belangrik,

Hy wil my nie verloor nie.

Hy het my altyd met baie respek behandel...

[Effense stilte]

Maar, ek weetie hoe om dit te sê nie.

...Iets het daai aand verander tussen ons.

...Dit was asof ons gevoel vir mekaar te groot geword het en ons dit nie kon inhou nie...

O: Vertel vir my presies wat gebeur het vandat julle twee nou aan die vry geraak het?

R: Wel, ons het op die bank aan die vry geraak,
en toe het ons later af beweeg na die mat toe.

Ons het baie woes beginne soen

en rondgerol op die mat en so...

Toe het hy beginne om my klere uit te trek

en toe het hy oor en oor vir my beginne sê dat hy baie graag met my wil seks het.

[Stilte.]

O: En wat was jou reaksie?

R: Ek het eerste baie groot geskrik,

want dit was die eerste keer dat ons nog ooit daaroor gepraat het,

en ek het dit nog nooit gedoen nie.

So ek het gewonder hoe dit is

en of dit seer sal wees

en of ek dit reg sal kan doen

en so aan.

Want ek het nog altyd aan seks gedink as iets wat grootmense doen.

O: Ahmmm

R: Maar aan die ander kant was ek ook baie excited gewees,

want hy wou my hê,

en so sou ek vir hom kon wys hoe lief ek vir hom is,

en dat ek enigiets vir hom sal doen.

Dit is tog 'n vrou se plig om alles te doen wat sy kan om haar man gelukkig te

maak. En al wat in my kop was,
is dat ek hom nooit wil verloor nie;
dat ek hom altyd in my lewe wil hê;
dat ek eendag sy vrou wil wees
en sy kinders wil hê...
En toe hy vir my sê dat hy graag met my wil seks het,
was dit vir my wonderlik,
want dit het beteken dat hy my nie as 'n kind sien nie,
maar as 'n vrou met wie hy homself wil deel.
...En hy het ook vir my gesê dat hy baie lief is vir my,
en dat dit vir hom 'n baie ernstige stap is
en dat hy altyd by my sal staan en so...
en toe het dit gebeur...
[Trek skouers op terwyl praat.]

O: En hoe was seks toe op die ou einde vir jou gewees?

R: Omdat ek toe nog 'n virgin gewees het,
was dit 'n bietjie seer gewees en so,
maar ek het net die hele tyd daaraan gedink
hy is lief vir my
en ek is besig om hom tevrede te stel
en seker te maak dat hy by my sal bly.

O: Het enigiets anders deur jou gedagtes gegaan terwyl julle besig was om seks te hê?

R: Soos wat?

O: Soos wat jou ouers sal sê en of jy sal swanger raak en so aan?

R: Nee, ek wassie geworry nie.
Voordat ons seks gehad het,
het my ou vir my gesê ek hoef nie te worry oor voorbehoedmiddels en goeters nie,
want hy kry iets in so 'n botteltjie by die apteek
wat hy kan drink.
So ek het hom getrust daarmee...
En ek sou in elk geval nie te veel worry as ek pregnant sou raak nie,
want ek sou graag sy baby wou hê.
Ekke was net te lief vir hom om hom te verloor,
en as ek sy kind sou hê,
sou hy tog altyd deel van my wees.

O: En wat van jou ouers?

R: Ek het geweet my ma-hulle sal verstaan.
Ek het al baie vir my ma gevertel van hoe lief ek en my ou vir mekaar is en so.
En sy het altyd gesê so 'n liefde is 'n baie spesiale ding
en 'n mens moet dit geniet
en alles doen wat jy kan om dit nie te verloor nie.

Ek het toe ook na die tyd vir my ma-hulle daarvan vertel
dat ek en my ou nou seks gehet het
en dat ons rêrig baie lief vir mekaar is
en beplan om altyd 'n couple te wees en so.
En hulle was oraait daarmee.

Maar my vriende,
toe ek nou vir hulle vertel dat ek en my ou nou seks gehet het,
het hulle gesê ek is mal gewees om dit te doen.
Hulle het gesê ek is nog te jonk en so.
Maar hulle is net jaloers gewees
en hulle het net glad nie geverstaan wat dit beteken as twee mense so lief is vir
mekaar nie.
[Stilte. Dink 'n bietjie na voordat verder praat.]
Maar ek het ook 'ie meer oor hulle geworry nie.
Al wat ek oor geworry het was om by my ou te wees...

O: En hoe het dinge toe tussen jou en jou outjie gegaan nadat julle vir die eerste keer
seks gahad het?

R: Ons het na die tyd al hoe closer geraak.
Dit was asof ons net nog liewer geraak het vir mekaar,
en ons het toe gereeld seks gehet met mekaar
en 'n rukkje later het ek toe uitgevind dat ek toe nou pregnant is.

O: Ahmmm?

R: Ek was baie excited oor die baby gewees,
maar hy het ook geworry of hy vir ons sal kan sorg en so.
Ons het toe maar in die tussentyd hier by my ma-hulle ingetrek
totdat ons nou genoeg geld het om ons eie plek te kry
en te trou en so.
My ma-hulle support ons rêrig baie,
veral ook vandat die baby gebore is.
En sy is nou al 'n jaar oud.
Maar ek en my ou beplan nou om oor 'n maand getroud te raak
en in ons eie plek in te trek.
Omdat ek nou weer pregnant is,
wil ons nou op ons eie kom,
want daar sal dan nie meer genoeg plek vir ons almal wees in die huis nie.
En dit gaan ook nou beter met hom by sy werk en so.
Dit was op 'n stadium eintlik nie baie lekker gewees nie.

O: Hoe voel jy nou oor alles wat gebeur het?

R: Ek is baie bly daaroor.
[Glimlag terwyl praat.]
Ek is nog altyd net so lief vir my ou soos ek altyd was,
en ek wil nog altyd net so graag sy vrou word
en my hele lewe by hom wees.

Ek is baie happy met my lewe,
en ek is baie lief vir my kind
en vir die babatjie wat oppad is.
[Dink 'n bietjie na voordat verder praat.]
Ek dink ek sal alles weer net so doen as ek dit moes oordoen.
[Lang stilte.]
Ag, ek weet nie meer nie. Dis eintlik al wat ek kan sê.

- O: Nou maar baie dankie vir die waardevolle inligting wat jy vir my gegee het. Ek waardeer jou bereidwilligheid om oor sulke sensitiewe dinge met my te gesels; en ek wil jou net weereens daarvan verseker dat ek dit streng vertroulik sal hanteer.

ONDERHOUD 9: Kodenommer 27

Onderhoudvoerder: Cathy Burger (O)

Respondent: Jenny (R)

- O : Vertel vir my in jou eie woorde die storie van jou heel eerste seksuele ervaring.
Ek gaan nie vir jou 'n klomp vrae vra daaroor nie ... ek wil net hê jy moet in jou eie woorde vir my vertel wat daardie dag gebeur het ... asof jy vir my 'n "movie" wys van die eerste keer wat jy seks gehad het. Daar is nie 'n regte of 'n verkeerde manier om jou storie te vertel nie ... vertel net vir my op enige manier wat vir jou gemaklik is.
- R : Ek en my kêrel het al 'n hele tydjie lank uitgegaan,
toe vra hy my eendag of ons nou nie kan begin gemeenskap hê nie.
Ek het nogals geskrik,
maar ek het geweet dit gaan een of ander tyd kom...
[Lang stilte.]
- O : Hoe het jy gereageer toe hy nou uiteindelik vir jou gevra het om met hom seks te hê ?
- R : Ek het vir hom gesê ek weet nou nie eintlik nie.
Ek voel nie rêrig reg om dit te doen nie,
want ek weet my ma-hulle sal niks daarvan hou nie.
En hy het toe gesê hy kan my nie forseer nie,
ek sal self moet besluit of ek wil.
[Effense pouse. Iets van 'n geïrriteerdheid in stem wanneer weer praat.]
Maar toe het hy my nou later weer gevra
en toe het ek ingestem.
Ek kan nou nie sê wat het gebeur dat ek ingestem het nie.
Ek was simpel gewees.
Toe ek my weer kon kry,
toe het ek klaar ja gesê.
- O : Sê gou vir my, daardie dag toe julle die eerste keer gemeenskap gehad het, wat het alles voor die tyd gebeur, voordat julle nou op daai punt gekom het?
- R : Dit was op 'n naweek gewees.
Hy het my kom haal
en gesê ons kan lekker die dag by sy ma'le se huis kuier
en gaan musiek luister en so,
want hulle is weg na sy antie-hulle toe in Ceres.
Ons het oor baie dinge gesels daai dag,
soos oor wat ons nou sal maak as ons nou 'n babatjie kry en so,
en hy't gesê hy sal my nie los nie,
hy sal my help.
- O : Het julle ook in daai tyd oor voorbehoedmiddels gepraat?

- R : Nee,
hy het nooit iets daarvan gesê nie
en ek wou dit in elk geval nie gebruik nie,
want netnou as ek die inspuiting of so gebruik,
dan gaan my ma mos nou wil weet hoekom gebruik ek dit.
Ek wou nie hê my ma-hulle moes uitvind dat ek nou seks het nie.
Hulle sou baie teleurgesteld gewees het in my.
- O : Behalwe vir die inspuiting kry 'n mens mos nou ander voorbehoedmiddels ook
soos die pil en kondome en so aan - hoe het jy daaroor gevoel om dit te gebruik?
- R : Die pil is nie lekker om te gebruik nie,
want sien nou partykeers dan is ek miskien nou haastig iewers heen
en dan gaan ek mos nou vergeet om dit te drink,
en as ek dit nou een of twee maal oorgeslaan het,
dan môre, oormôre is ek in elk geval swanger.
Die inspuiting is dan beter om te gebruik,
maar ek was bang vir my ma,
want as ek nou voorbehoedmiddels gebruik,
dan gaan sy mos wil weet hoekom ek dit nou skielik wil gebruik.
Ons het altyd in die huis gesels oor sulke goed.
Hulle het van vroeg af al vir my vertel van seks en so,
en hulle het vir my gewaarsku.
dat ek nou nie my eie kop sal stamp nie.
- O : Dit klink asof jy na aanleiding van gesprekke met jou ouers nie van voorneme
was om vroeg seks te hê nie, maar toe het jy op die ou einde...
- R : Ek het altyd gedink miskien as ek nou klaar 21 is,
as ek nou nie meer te jonk is nie,
sal ek met so iets begin.
En toe het dit net nie so uitgewerk nie.
Ek kan nou nie mooi dink hoekom nie.
Dit het net so uitgewerk dat ek en my outjie nou vroeër seks gehet het.
Daai dag toe ons nou seks gehet het was nie eintlik anders as ander dae wat ons
by mekaar was nie.
Ons was in sy kamer gewees
en het begin vry
En toe het dit sommer net so skielik gebeur.
Ons het mos gesit en gesels en musiek geluister
en toe het ons begin vry.
Nadat ons vir 'n lang ruk gevry het
en hy aan my borste begin vat het en so aan,
toe't hy my gevra of ons kan seks hê.
Toe sê ek uiteindelik ja.
Dit was als soos gewoonlik,
soos ons altyd als gedoen het,
behalwe die seks,
want dit was die eerste keer wat dit gebeur het.

- O : En hoe het die seks self vir jou gevoel toe dit gebeur het?
- R : Nie eintlik baie lekker nie,
Want dit was so 'n bietjie seer gewees.
[Effense stilte. Dink 'n bietjie na voordat verder praat. Praat dan met aarseling in stem.]
Hhmm...
Ek kan nou nie eintlik beskryf hoe ek gevoel het nie.
Ek het nie op daai stadium daaraan gedink nie,
maar agterna was ek spyt gewees,
maar dit was klaar te laat.
Dit het gebeur,
en ek het nooit agtergekom ek is swanger nie.
Ek het nie na begin voel of niks nie,
of begin seer raak in my borste nie.
[Pouse.]
Ek en my ma het altyd saam gemenstrueer,
maar toe die spesifieke maand het my ma lankal gemenstrueer, maar ek het nog nie.
Toe het my ma vir my gevra,
toe sê ek nee, ek verwag nie
want ek het nooit vir haar gesê ek het seks gehad nie.
- O : Hoe het dinge toe verder uitgewerk?
- R : Nee, later toe moes ek nou mos vir haar sê.
Sy en my pa was eers vir my baie kwaad gewees,
want hulle het mos met my gepraat
en vir my gewaarsku
Maar nou het hulle dit aanvaar
en ondersteun my baie,
Maar ek weet hulle is nog teleurgesteld in my...
[Klink hartseer.]
- O : En hoe het jou outjie gereageer toe hy nou uitvind dat jy swanger is?
- R : Hy het gesê dat ons saam die baba moet grootmaak.
Ek is baie bly,
want dit is maar weinig dat 'n mens sulke kêrels kry.
Party is mos maar net so,
as hulle klaar gesêks het,
dan los hy vir jou.
Maar hy is nie so nie,
hy't by my gebly staan.
[Glimlag.]
Ek is rêrig nogals lief vir hom,
_nog altyd.
[Praat met dringendheid in stem.]
Ek is nie kwaad vir hom omdat ons seks gehad het nie,

want ek het die seks vir ons altwee gedoen.

[Bly vinnig stil. Asof dit wat sy nou net gesê het nie veronderstel was om uit te glip nie.]

[Lang stilte.]

O : Sê gou vir my, hoe dink jy oor mans en vrouens en hoe seks vir elkeen van hulle is?

R : By sommige is dit anders
en by ander is dit dieselfde.
Somtyds beplan hulle saam om seks te hê
en ander tye gebeur dit net.
Sommige tye weier die meisie en die kerel wil dit nou net hê.
Dit kom voor
-hier by ons nou-
asof die ouens meer ingestel is op seks,
asof hulle anders geleer word oor seks
en nie vertel word dat hulle moet wag of so nie.
Soos in my en my kêrel se geval nou,
was seks definitief vir hom belangriker vir ons verhouding as wat dit vir my was.

O : Hoe gaan dit op die oomblik met julle verhouding?

R : Ons sien mekaar nie eintlik meer so baie nie.
Hy speel sokker,
so wanneer hy speel, dan kan hy mos nou nie kom nie.
Maar as hy elke Saterdag speel
dan sal hy nou een game in die maand skip en vir my kom kuier,
en somtyds in die week sal ek nou na hom toe gaan in Macassar.
Wat ons seksuele verhouding betref,
wel vandat ek nou die babatjie het,
het ons nog nie weer seks gehad nie, sien,
en hy's nou nogals kwaad daaroor,
want sien hy verstaan nou nie,
Want toe ek nog swanger was
het ons dan nog seks gehad...
[Pouse. Begin dan skielik vinniger praat.]
Maar dit was nie so baie gewees nie,
want ons het mekaar nie so baie gesien nie,
so dit was maar net as hy by my kom kuier
of ek na hom toe gegaan het.
En die seks het in elk geval nie eintlik beter geraak nie,
maar dit was darem nie meer so seer nie.
[Reflekterend.]
Ek kan nou nie sê hoekom ek dit gedoen het nie.
Miskien was dit om hom tevrede te stel.
Dis mos maar net iets wat gebeur,
veral as 'n mens nou al lank uitgaan of so.
[Lang stilte.]

- O : OK Jenny, is daar enigiets anders wat gebeur het daai dag wat jy graag oor sal wil praat.
- R : Nee, ek kan nou nie eintlik dink nie.
- O: Nou maar goed dan. Baie dankie vir die waardevolle inligting wat jy vir my gegee het. Ek waardeer jou bereidwilligheid om oor sulke sensitiewe dinge met my te gesels; en ek wil jou net weereens daarvan verseker dat ek dit streng vertroulik sal hanteer.

ONDERHOUD 10: Kodenommer 33

Onderhoudvoerder: Cathy Burger (O)

Respondent: Suzette (R)

- O: Vertel vir my in jou eie woorde die storie van jou heel eerste seksuele ervaring. Ek gaan nie vir jou 'n klomp vrae vra daaroor nie ... ek wil net hê jy moet in jou eie woorde vir my vertel wat daardie dag gebeur het ... asof jy vir my 'n "movie" wys van die eerste keer wat jy seks gehad het. Daar is nie 'n regte of 'n verkeerde manier om jou storie te vertel nie ... vertel net vir my op enige manier wat vir jou gemaklik is.
- R: Ek kan onthou ons was uit vir die dag.
Ons was dorp toe.
Ons het gaan rond stap in die dorp,
En ons het gaan uiteet.
En daarna het hy my gevra of ek nie saam met hom wil huis toe kom,
na sy ma se huis toe nie.
Toe sê ek vir hom, ja, dis OK en so.
Hy't my kom voorstel aan sy ma.
Ek het nog nooit sy ma gesien daai tyd nie.
Ek en hy het al ses maande mekaar gesien,
maar sy ma het nie geweet nie.
En toe't hy my kom voorstel aan sy ma.
- O: Wat bedoel jy daarmee dat julle mekaar gesien het ?
- R: Ons was ou en meisie.
Maar ons het nog nie gemeenskap gehad nie.
Ons het 'n skoon verhouding gehad...
[Effense pouse.]
Toe ons nou by sy huis toe kom,
toe't sy ma uitgegaan vir die dag.
En ons het toe net gesels en so aan.
- O: Waaroor het julle alles gesels ?
- R: Oor ons verhouding nou, en so.
Hy vra toe vir my of ek nie saam met hom gemeenskap wil hê nie.
Toe sê ek vir hom, ek is so 'n bietjie bang en so,
maar ons kyk maar hoe dit uitwerk en so.
Ons het toe begin om mekaar se hande vas te hou,
in mekaar se oge te kyk,
en gesels
en te vry ook,
en toe het dit nou gebeur, en so.
Dit was baie swaar gewees...
[Word stil, kyk af grond toe en vroetel met hande voordat verder praat.]
Dit was my eerste keer

en dit was seer gewees en so aan.
Hy't sy tyd geneem en so.
Sê maar hy wil nou in,
dan neem hy 'n ruk en so.
En ek het gehuil.
Dit was baie swaar gewees.

O: Dit klink asof jy nie gemaklik was binne die seksuele situasie nie.

R: Nee, ek wassie rêrig nie.
En ek het dit vir hom gesê.
Hy't vir my gesê,
as ek nie reg is daarvoor nie kan ons dit op 'n ander tyd doen en so,
en dis geen sonde.
Hy was baie nice gewees.
Ek het nie enige tyd gevoel dat hy my probeer forseer om met hom seks te het nie.
Ek weet hy sou verstaan het as ek nee gesê het.
En daarom wou ek toe nie nee sê nie.
Ek het uit my eie uit gesê ek wil dit graag doen met hom.
En toe het ons nou weer beginne vry en so aan.
Dit het omtrent so twee of drie ure aangehou, voordat ons nou uiteindelik
gemeenskap gehet het.
Dit het alles vir my baie snaaks gevoel.
Dit het net glad nie dieselfde gevoel as wat ek gedink het nie.
Dis nie dat dit nie vir my lekker was nie...
Ek was seker maar net 'n bietjie bang.
Want ek het ook gewonder wat gaan die nagevolge wees van wat ons besig is om
te doen.
En ek het vir hom gesê, toe sê hy vir my
as ek nou swanger raak, sal hy vir my bystaan en so.

O: Het julle enigsins oor voorbehoedmiddels gepraat?

R: Ja, ons het al,
maar dit was eers na die tyd dat ons daaroor gesels het.
My ou het vir my gevra of ek so iets wil gebruik.
Maar ek het gevoel ek wil dit nie gebruik nie.
[Lag]
Hy het toe net vir my gesê as iets dan nou gebeur, moet ek nou net nie vir hom
kwaad wees nie,
want hy het my voor die tyd gewaarsku en so nou.
Toe sê ek, nee dis oraait en so,
maar ek sal dit nie wil gebruik nie.
Ek voel mos nie reg om dit te gebruik nie.

O: Hoekom nie?

R: Vrinne van my nou, sy't vir my dinge vertel van die voorbehoedmiddels.
Soos dat jou liggaam verander en alles daai.

Hoe kan ek sê?

Sy't vir my gesê die voorbehoedmiddels is wat sy nou gebruik en so.

Sy gebruik dit net omdat sy saam met mans vry
en seks wil hê en so aan, sonder om kinders te kry.

En ek wou dit nie gehad het nie.

Ek wou...

ek wou vir hom 'n kind gegee het.

Hy het altyd gesê hy wil ene hê,
so ek wou nie daai goed gebruik nie.

[Effense stilte voordat verder praat. Asof moed skep voordat sy die volgende
woorde sê.]

Maar ek hettie rêrig geweet waarom voorbehoedmiddels eintlik gaan nie.

Voordat ek nog swanger geraak het,
het een suster vir my gevra of ek dit nie wil gebruik nie,
maar sy het nie vir my lekker verduidelik waarom dit gaan, of hoekom gebruik jy
dit en so nie.

Sy het net vir my gevra of ek dit nie wil gebruik of so nie.

Ek kan onthou sy het iets gesê van ek moet 'n pil of 'n inspuiting gebruik
of iets - ek weet nie wat dit is nie.

[Lang stilte.]

O: Wat het toe verder tussen jou en jou kêrel gebeur ?

R: Nadat ons toe nou seks gehet het,
het hy my toe vasgehou en so.
En vir my gesê hy's lief vir my.
En hy sal my nooit laat staan nie en so aan.
En as daar nou miskien iets gebeur
-as ek miskien nou pregnant is-
sal hy nou by my staan.
Hy't my baie mooi moed ingepraat en so.
En toe was ek baie bly dat ek dit saam met hom gedoen het.
Want ek het gedink hy is die ou van my drome.
[Lag]
Ek sal vir hom nou behou en so.
En ons is nog altyd bymekaar.
En met ons gaan dit goed.
Hy help baie vir my.
[Lag]
En ons praat nog baie
en vry nog baie en so.
Die seks het ook al hoe beter geraak.
Die tweede keer was net soos die eerste keer,
maar ek het ten minste geweet wat kom.
Maar van die derde keer af was dit oraait gewees.

O: Dit klink asof dinge goed gaan tussen jou en jou kêrel,
maar het jy nou al ooit daaraan gedink dat jy miskien dinge anders sou doen as jy
toe geweet het hoe dinge uiteindelik gaan uitdraai ?

R: Noudat ek verduidelik is waaroor voorbehoedmiddels gaan,
dink ek, ek sou dit miskien gebruik het.
'n Ander vriendin het toe na die tyd vir my vertel
dat dit eintlik beter is om 'n voorbehoedmiddel te gebruik en so,
want dit maak jou baie meer ontspanne as jy seks het.
Dan hoef jy nie te worry dat jy miskien sal pregnant raak nie.
En sy't ook gesê dat dit nie jou ligaaam sal opmors nie;
dat dit veilig is om te gebruik.
Ek gaan definitief begin om voorbehoedmiddels te gebruik nadat ek my baba
gehet het.
Ek sal die drie-maande-inspuiting kry,
want ek is te bang dat ek dalk nou nie eens my kind 'n maand het nie en dan is ek
weer pregnant.
As ek die inspuiting gebruik,
kan ek so lank wag soos ek wil
voordat ek weer 'n baba kry...
[Klink effens kwaad wanneer die volgende woorde sê]
Maar my ma het nooit vir my verduidelik nie.
Daar was nooit iemand wat vir my verduidelik het nie.
Ek kon nie met my ma praat daaroor nie.
Ek en my ma kom mos nie lekker oor die weg nie.
En ek het ook nie by haar gebly toe ek kleiner was nie.
Ek het by my ouma gebly,
maar my ouma lewe nie meer nie.
[Praat met hartseer toon in stem]
My ouma het baie met ons niggies gepraat,
oor seks en sulke goed.
My ouma het altyd enigiets saam met ons gepraat.
Ek kon lekker met haar gesels,
maar daai tyd het ek mos nog nie geworry oor seks nie.
Die ander het eintlik geluister na haar,
maar ek hettie eintlik geluister nie.
Hoe kan ek sê...
ek hettie gedink dis vir my bedoel nie.
My ouma vertel mos maar vir hulle.
Ek het maar net gesit en kyk hoe hulle gesels.
[Dink 'n bietjie na]
Ek kan onthou my niggie was agtien jaar oud gewees toe sy vir die eerste keer
iemand ontmoet en so.
Toe sê my ouma vir haar sy moet versigtig wees,
sy moet vir haar oppas en so.
Sy moenie, hoe kan ek sê,
sy moenie net ja sê en so nie.
Sy moet dink...
sy moet oor alles dink en so...
want dis nie altyd so lekker nie, sulke dinge.
[Effense pouse]
Ek kan nie eintlik lekker onthou nie,
want ek was nog te klein.
Ek het nie rêrig geluister nie.
[Lang stilte]

O: Dit klink asof jy spyt is dat jy nie geluister het nie.

R: [Lag verleë]
Ag, nie rêrig nie.
Dis net ek bly nou al 'n jaar en drie maande hier by my ou-hulle,
en ek is gelukkig,
maar ek sit maar net eintlik deur die dag hier.
Ek kan nie eintlik met enigiemand lekker praat nie.
[Asof haarself ewe skielik regruk uit haar negatiwiteit]
Maar ek en my outjie het 'n baie spesiale vriendskap.
Ons gesels baie
en dit is genuine nice.
Hy staan my rêrig wonderlik by.
Ek weet hy sal my ook help as die baby eers hier is...
En dit gaan ook nou beter met my en my ma.
Ek was Sondag by haar gewees.
[Lag]
Sy is baie happy dat sy nou ouma gaan word.
Sy's glad'ie kwaad vir my daaroor nie.
[Lang stilte]

O: Baie dankie vir die waardevolle inligting wat jy vir my gegee het, Suzette. Ek waardeer jou bereidwilligheid om oor sulke sensitiewe dinge met my te gesels; en ek wil jou net weereens daarvan verseker dat ek dit streng vertroulik sal hanteer.